Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Aboriginal Woman Artist

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the career of Blood artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert (1942-2009) who rose to prominence on the Canadian art scene in the 1980s and 1990s, following generations of Aboriginal women artists whose culture and ancestry were deliberately suppressed, concealed or denied.

In looking at how artists such as Cardinal-Schubert took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage, culture and a place for themselves in society, this thesis asks whether postcolonial thought can adequately represent their careers or concerns, or those of Aboriginal women in general. With Cardinal-Schubert’s career as a backdrop, it also asks whether feminist thought can do justice to Indigenous women’s experience, or whether a distinctly Indigenous feminism provides the best answer. Drawing on a range of scholarly texts, theoretical perspectives and first-person interviews this thesis seeks to honour the memory of an important Aboriginal woman artist and fill a void in art historical scholarship.
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Introduction

Aboriginal artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert was born in Red Deer, Alberta, in 1942. Although she had taken classes at the Alberta College of Art and Design in the late 1960s, she was in her mid-thirties when she graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from the University of Calgary, and began making and exhibiting some of her most important work in the late 1970s. Cardinal-Schubert's education helped to formalize her art making process while she simultaneously recognized that her Aboriginal identity would infuse her work with subject matter that was both political and deeply personal.

With the settlement of Canada by Europeans and the establishment of colonial societal norms, Aboriginal women lost their rights and privileges twice, once as non-Europeans, and again by virtue of their gender under the imposed colonial social order which denied their equality with men. Cardinal-Schubert represents a generation of Aboriginal women artists who took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage, their culture and a place for themselves in society.

Amongst the women from the previous generation, Odawa artist Daphne Odjig achieved remarkable progress in bringing Aboriginal art to contemporary audiences. Following in Odjig’s footsteps, artists such as Cardinal-Schubert and Jane Ash Poitras have achieved great success on their own terms. These artists would find their work represented in ground breaking exhibitions, such as Beyond History at the Vancouver Art Gallery (1989) and INDIGENA: Perspectives of Indigenous Peoples on Five Hundred Years at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1992). This thesis will examine the life and career of Cardinal-Schubert in light of the pivotal points of recognition for Aboriginal art in general, and Aboriginal women artists in particular.
Cardinal-Schubert's achievements went beyond those of an accomplished artist in the 1980s and 1990s. Following her arts education at the Alberta College of Art and Design and the University of Alberta, she worked as a curator at the University of Calgary's Nickle Arts Museum. She was also involved with arts groups such as the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) to help establish Aboriginal representation on boards of galleries exhibiting Aboriginal work. As well, she was part of the efforts to help initiate Aboriginal arts programming at the Banff Centre for the Arts, a place where she would develop some of her own seminal ideas.

An educator and political activist, Cardinal-Schubert frequently used her art to express her convictions about racial prejudice or environmental conservation. She embraced a variety of artistic mediums, and made written contributions to cultural theory as well. While much of her work drew attention to those marginalized by colonialism, her ultimate goal seemed to be the betterment of society as a whole, which she felt could only happen if its shortcomings were addressed and acknowledged by a broad audience. Although she succumbed to cancer in 2009 at the relatively young age of 67, Cardinal-Schubert left a formidable legacy as a role model for artists and non-artists alike.

Cardinal-Schubert grew up in rural Alberta. While her maternal great-grandmother was a Piegan holy woman, she was not entirely aware of her Aboriginal heritage until later in life. After working as a nurse and starting a family, she returned to school to study painting, history and anthropology. Having left the relative shelter of her home and family, she became keenly aware of her ancestry through her own research and experiences. In particular, she was driven to address Canada's history, and its past and present strained relationship with Aboriginal people. Cardinal-Schubert's initial
development as an artist coincided with her growing awareness of her identity as an Aboriginal person. That these two aspects of her life occurred almost in tandem had a significant impact on how she approached her artistic practice, and how she was received as an Aboriginal woman artist.

While the effects of colonialism can be readily identified, its motivations can be wide ranging, and more complex. In his discussions of postcolonialism, Robert J.C. Young explains how over the last 500 years a variety of factors, including economics, race and gender influenced the events that helped shape contemporary North America. The imposition of laws and value systems based on race are, perhaps, the most visible effects of colonialism, while the impact of differing attitudes towards gender are harder to detect since Indigenous customs have been largely suppressed by a patriarchal system of rule.

Aboriginal women engaged in contemporary art making have demonstrated that they have a drive and vision equal to men, whether Aboriginal or not. In her film *Hands of History* (1994), Métis director Loretta Todd documents four such women; namely Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash Poitras, Doreen Jensen and Rena Point Bolton. The film makes clear that art created in the last half of the twentieth century has allowed for a greater range of mediums and voices, including those of women, and women from minority groups. Since these latter individuals have experienced a greater degree of marginalization than most, their stories can arguably be seen as having a greater sense of urgency. Moreover, as noted by Jensen, racism and the imposition of colonial attitudes towards gender have had a marked effect on the production and reception of art by Aboriginal women. Especially damaging has been the relegation of their work to the category of artifact or craft, making it irrelevant to any discussion of contemporary art.
As discussed by Ruth B. Phillips and Lee-Ann Martin, through a combination of increased societal freedoms afforded to Native people and a greater acknowledgment of Aboriginal culture, the 1960s marked what has come to be considered a "renaissance" in Aboriginal art. By the mid-twentieth century, the repeal of legislation that had banned activities such as the sundance and potlatch allowed Aboriginal artists to more easily reconnect with their culture. At the same time, curiosity amongst the general public, prompted by exhibitions in commercial galleries and international venues, such as Expo 67 in Montréal in 1967, helped create a demand for Aboriginal art. Hence, Indigenous art forms that may have been regarded by Western audiences as "traditional", or associated with cultural practices preceding European contact, became blended with contemporary forms of artistic expression, as individuals experimented with new media and pushed the limits of their practice.

With a burgeoning awareness of Aboriginal culture, art exhibitions began to appear across Canada in the early 1980s and 1990s. As documented by Allan J. Ryan and Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, Aboriginal curators also emerged at this time to wrest representation of their culture from less enlightened professionals who harboured colonial views. For example, in 1986, Garry Mainprize curated the exhibition, *Stardusters*, for the Thunder Bay Art Gallery. The show featured works by Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui and Edward Poitras, and travelled nationally over the course of a year. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue Mainprize underscores the talent of the artists regardless of their Native ancestry, and the apparent lack of attention each had received up until that time. Subsequent shows, such as *Revisions* at the Walter Phillips Gallery in 1988, celebrated Aboriginal culture in defiance of
colonialism, and any other associated ideologies that had historically suppressed Aboriginal people.

Although colonial dominance has been theorized and challenged in the works of writers such as Homi K. Bhabha and Cardinal-Schubert herself, Aboriginal art still occupies an uneasy relationship to mainstream Canadian society since it can be difficult to categorize according to standards established by European art historians. Compounding the difficulty is the fact that some artists intentionally make their work challenging to viewers, while others confound the logic of the very institutions that seek to collect their work. For instance, Cardinal-Schubert deliberately made works from non-artistic materials such as masking tape and newspaper to thwart museum conservation practices, and gave different works identical titles so that they could only be identified by their size. It is difficult to predict whether or not this uneasy relationship will ever be reconciled, but the resultant tension has arguably produced some of the most engaging and important works of art.

To expand the relevance of Cardinal-Schubert's many notable achievements, I propose to examine them from a variety of postcolonial theoretical perspectives. Robert J.C. Young's notion of colonialism as a capitalist system that continues into the present will help to clarify some of the motivations for the racial and sexual suppression of Aboriginal women noted earlier. Hence, my reading of colonialism will necessarily consider a Marxist view of material history, where society is seen as largely the result of economic forces. In his writing, Homi K. Bhabha considers postcolonial criticism to be a strategy of survival, with history as an ongoing process of cultural translation. Such a position helps draw out questions of cultural marginalization. I will also consider the
work of Aboriginal women artists in light of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's ideas on subaltern women whose marginalized voices are often denied, as well her notion of privilege as loss, whereby one may establish a meaningful dialogue with oppressed individuals by considering how a position of privilege may actually diminish one's experiences.

Lastly, I will look at Aboriginal women artists' work through the lens of feminism, and more specifically, Indigenous feminism. Linda Nochlin identifies the difficulty of intervening in or opening up a broader, more inclusive art historical narrative, when it has been established on the basis of genius or talent determined from an exclusively male European perspective. Similarly, Kathy M'Closkey looks at how such prescribed notions of art and craft apply to women who work in the Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio situated on Baffin Island where individual creativity and expression may be denied more often than granted. To avoid taking an essentialist stance towards Aboriginal women artists, I will also consider such writers as Grace Ouellette, Julia Emberley, Emma LaRocque, and Cardinal-Schubert herself to help delineate the concerns of an Aboriginal women's movement with a necessarily different focus than the feminism developed within Western societies and cultures. Ouellette asserts that the challenges facing Aboriginal women are distinct from those faced by non-Native women due to racial and colonial oppression, identifying a Fourth World view as a viable means for Aboriginal women to express themselves. Emberley discusses textual resistance techniques that she refers to as "voice", while LaRocque takes a similar literary approach, indicating four sites of oppression that hinder Aboriginal women writers, and three sites of resistance. In an excerpt from a speech made in the late 1980s at the Glenbow Museum, Cardinal-Schubert identifies
racism and colonial oppression as the greatest obstacles facing Aboriginal women artists, but also the areas where the greatest advances can be made.

To get a more direct sense of Cardinal-Schubert's own practice and challenges during her career, my approach to this study will combine first-person interviews with aspects of the artist's life and work drawn from secondary sources. I will also review the artist's past solo and group exhibitions to establish the greater cultural context in which she was working. Such exhibitions will be considered in relation to movements such as the formation of SCANA to gauge the progress that Aboriginal women artists have made.

Cardinal-Schubert is not the first Canadian Aboriginal woman artist to emerge in the late twentieth century and achieve prominence – Daphne Odjig, Shelley Niro and Rebecca Belmore have all gained significant recognition – but her position in art history is important to understand as part of a bridge to the present from past generations for whom Aboriginal ancestry was something to be deliberately concealed or denied, or recognized merely as inspiration for the production of artifacts or crafts. Directly related to this is the fact that the imposition of colonialism on Indigenous populations has been extremely misguided in its treatment of gender, as seen in legislation between 1869 and 1985 under the Indian Act that withheld the same marital rights and privileges from Aboriginal women that were granted to Aboriginal men. As an artist and a curator, Cardinal-Schubert responded to racism and the general mistreatment of Aboriginal people.

In Chapter One, this thesis will address how Aboriginal women artists such as Cardinal-Schubert took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage, culture and a place in society. Hence, I will examine the artwork and related accomplishments of Cardinal-Schubert, as representative of a generation of Aboriginal women artists who made
significant achievements in their own careers that created opportunities for future
generations. The broader context for Cardinal-Schubert's achievements will be considered
to understand how the opportunities she was given differed from those of the previous
generation of Aboriginal women artists, as well as those of the generation that followed.

In Chapter Two, I will discuss how postcolonial theorizing can offer insight into
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Canada. Writing on the history of colonialism, Robert J.C. Young outlines a set of
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support the current global market system, which is very useful in attempting to determine
the nature of postcolonialism. The writings of Spivak on the subaltern will prove
particularly important in helping to present my ideas in support of, rather than on behalf
of, Aboriginal women. Work by various artists, writers and theorists, including Marcia
Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert, will be reviewed in light of postcolonial theory to consider
whether or not such ideas of representation can adequately address the concerns of
Aboriginal women.

Chapter Three will address how Aboriginal women artists assert feminist concerns
in a society that has only recently begun to address women's rights and Aboriginal rights.
Again, looking at the period in which Cardinal-Schubert developed her body of work and
overall career, Chapter Three will compare non-Aboriginal feminism with Indigenous
feminism. The material presented in Chapter Three will expand on concerns raised in
Chapter Two. Areas where postcolonial theory and Western feminism do not address
issues brought forward by Indigenous feminism will be of particular interest, especially in
light of how artists such as Cardinal-Schubert achieved so much in spite of their
circumstances during the late twentieth century in Canada.
Chapter One

In Loretta Todd’s film, *Hands of History*, discussed earlier, the four Aboriginal women artists speak of the challenges they have faced due to the legacy of colonialism. Although they are from British Columbia and Alberta, their experiences are relevant across Canada in light of the history of the country’s colonial settlement.

According to artist Doreen Jensen, it was the colonial authorities who relegated Aboriginal material culture to the category of artifact or craft, and determined that cultural items made of trade goods were without value. Moreover, early academics considered women’s work insignificant and not worth recording.\(^24\) Rena Point Bolton relates how colonial policy, particularly the Indian Act,\(^25\) made Aboriginal ceremonies illegal, as well as the manufacture of items for use in such ceremonies. She recounts how, to make a living, women such as her grandmother kept Aboriginal art and culture alive by making intricate and highly utilitarian baskets which were then sold on the streets of Vancouver for a few dollars.\(^26\)

All four women in the film share their awareness of the past and the losses incurred but they also establish strong voices in the present. Although Jensen and Point Bolton are best known for traditional cultural practices such as carving and basketry, and Cardinal-Schubert and Poitras are known for blending traditional and contemporary imagery in their mixed media works, notions of tradition and authenticity\(^27\) are still problematic when it comes to determining what constitutes art.\(^28\) This is especially true when artistic categories are determined by individuals from outside a culture that makes no distinction between past (tradition) and present. When referring to “tradition”, it is best to keep in mind who is using the word and in what context. Arts professionals Hill,
Mitchell and New offer a useful definition from an Aboriginal perspective, whereby tradition is always dynamically expanding, a way of thinking passed on from our ancestors to which we are bound to add our own distinctive patterns.29

Cardinal-Schubert's work can then be seen as traditional in the Aboriginal sense, with its links to her ancestors, while at the same time it is contemporary in the Western sense, with its use of fine art techniques, approaches and methods of display.

Joane Marguerite Cardinal was born in Red Deer, Alberta, in 1942, to Joseph Cardinal, a game warden, and his wife Francis, who was a nurse. The fourth of eight children,30 Cardinal-Schubert lived off the land with her family for the first five years of her life. She fondly recalls the creativity that surrounded her while growing up, both in terms of natural surroundings and familial activities.31 Her development as an artist started at a young age. During time spent bed-ridden as a child due to illness, art presented itself as a means of escape.32 Her interest in art grew throughout her teenage years. A fascination with gravestones led her to consider not only leaving evidence of one's existence behind, but also the need to communicate in as broad a sense as possible.33

Cardinal-Schubert met her future husband, Eckehart, or Mike Schubert, in a high school theatre class. They married in 1965 and raised two sons, Christopher, born in 1969, and Justin, born in 1970.34 However, she did not let marriage or raising a family stop her from realizing her artistic dreams and ambitions. In fact, her son Justin worked closely with her for twenty-two years.35 Cardinal-Schubert and her husband shared concerns for the preservation of historic sites such as Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, whose pictographs of which frequently informed the artist's work.36 The two would also become
supporters of local environmental movements. On one occasion, when Cardinal-Schubert travelled abroad to take down a show in London, England, she also made a trip to the Louvre to see works such as the Mona Lisa, considering herself fortunate to have her sons and husband along to share with her some of art history’s acknowledged masterpieces.

Cardinal-Schubert was deeply inspired by her mixed-blood heritage, and sought to portray it in much of her art. Deborah Godin, the guest curator for Cardinal-Schubert’s 1985 exhibition, *This Is My History*, says that the artist’s sense of her own history was fundamental to her work. Cardinal-Schubert’s paternal great-grandmother, Rose Bobtail, was a Piegan Holy Woman, and a convener of the summer solstice Sundance. Her maternal great-grandmother, Marguerite Rach, was an Albertan of German ancestry and also a spiritual woman, who held her own services and was imbued with an understanding of the natural world. Although she had a mixed European and Aboriginal heritage, the artist identified primarily with the Blood or Kainai people of the greater Blackfoot nation (see Appendix A). As Cardinal-Schubert investigated her own ancestry, she also considered how her paintings could allow other people to explore their past with a sense of pride.

Over the course of her career, Cardinal-Schubert’s prime motivation was racism. Although she came to a gradual understanding of her Aboriginal identity, its significance was sometimes made apparent to her in abrupt and challenging circumstances. In one instance, while attending a printmaking class in art school, a fellow classmate asked her in passing what tribe she was from. Her immediate reaction was simply to respond, “Blood.” From that brief encounter, she realized that it was not worth being intimidated by anyone,
that it was simply a losing situation. Cardinal-Schubert was constantly aware of racism and resolute in her resistance to its power.

If you look like a Native, you are treated like one, and that is many things to many people. We all get the 100 percent expression of racism; there is no 25 percent or 50 percent amount of prejudicial treatment. The artist's ability to see beyond racism, and beyond how she was treated by others, was reflected in how she saw herself. Her parents instilled the importance of self-acceptance in their children, over and above trying to fit in with what everyone else was doing. This sensibility extended to the ideas and creativity that developed within the family, that thinking or feeling different was not only acceptable, but could be quite wonderful, and those that failed to recognize such values could only be pitied.

Various experiences with education played an important role in Cardinal-Schubert's development, particularly in her art work. At a young age, she attended convent school until her father removed her due to the deplorable conditions; thereafter she continued her education at a public school. In light of residential school activity in the early to mid-twentieth century, many Aboriginal people from Cardinal-Schubert's generation would likely have had similar educational experiences. Residential schools, established in Canada by the church as early as the 17th century, and run collaboratively with the Canadian government from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century, sought to assimilate Aboriginal children into Canadian society by denying them contact with their families, language, spirituality and systems of knowledge. Cardinal-Schubert's early experiences with education can be seen as influencing her installation and collage work through their use of classroom settings, texts and examinations of history and ideology (Figs. 1, 2).
Cardinal-Schubert went on to study at the Alberta College of Art and Design in her late teens and early twenties (1961-63 and 1967), and later enrolled at the University of Calgary, graduating in 1977 with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Painting and Printmaking. In addition to her artistic pursuits, she took courses in Canadian history, anthropology, ceramics, photography and video. She initially questioned her artistic abilities, being unfamiliar with the new mediums and techniques, but soon became adept at the use of line, colour and composition, as evidenced by the large multi-panel Great Canadian Dream Series which she completed upon graduation when she was almost forty years of age and the mother of two young children (Figs. 3, 4).

Throughout her artistic training, Cardinal-Schubert was exposed to many aspects of contemporary art and museum practice. Following graduation, she worked as an assistant curator at the University of Calgary’s Nickle Arts Museum until she left in 1985 to pursue painting full-time. She later undertook independent study tours at the National Gallery of Canada and major museums in New York City. Having her work included in the Stockholm International exhibition in 1983 next to Cy Twombly and Chuck Close allowed her to travel to see significant works in Europe, including the Rosetta Stone, the Elgin Marbles, and Stonehenge. In 1984, Cardinal-Schubert also visited Japan with the Alberta Society of Artists for the group exhibition, Sharing Visions. These opportunities undoubtedly broadened her appreciation for culture on an international basis. However, as seen in works influenced by Stonehenge and the pictographs around southern Alberta, travel abroad ultimately allowed her to develop a greater appreciation for her own Aboriginal heritage (Fig. 5).

Education beyond her fine arts training gave Cardinal-Schubert further
opportunities. For example, in 1981, she attended the Canadian Museums Conference in Ottawa, and in 1983, she earned a certificate in Cultural Resource Management, and Management Development for Arts Administrators from the Banff Centre.62

In the following section, Cardinal-Schubert’s achievements will be considered in a broader context to better understand how the opportunities afforded her as an Aboriginal woman artist differed from those of the previous generation and the one that followed. To do this, I will look at some of the historic events that served as a backdrop to her career.

The emergence of politically and culturally engaged Native artists in the aftermath of the Second World War63 can be attributed in part to the massive social upheavals associated with that war.64 These artists differed from their predecessors in that they would not so much observe and record the world, but actively participate in it, particularly through the display of their work in public institutions and galleries.65 While Blood (Kainai) artist Gerald Tailfeathers conveyed scenes of Aboriginal culture through Western realism, Anishinaabe artists Norval Morrisseau and Daphne Odjig developed unique and personal modes of expression that combined “Aboriginal motifs” with the materials and aesthetic concerns of modern and abstract art.

Contemporary Aboriginal art reached an international audience in 1967 with the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67 in Montréal. Works reflecting contemporary influences, such as a drawing by Gerald Tailfeathers, and more traditional pieces, such as a Kwagulth totem pole by Tony and Henry Hunt, were shown in the same setting, along with more critical content, such as displays about broken treaties, conflicts with settlers, the imposition of Western religion, the displacement of hunting and fishing grounds, and the contrast of lifestyles between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.66 The successful
lobbying for and autonomy represented by the exhibition, which was organized by Aboriginal curators,\textsuperscript{67} marked a watershed moment in awareness of Aboriginal issues in Canada, and would prepare the ground for the next generation of artists to make further gains.

Government support for Aboriginal culture came from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) in 1969, with the announcement of a five-year plan to develop cultural industries providing economic benefits to Aboriginal people.\textsuperscript{68} The culturally specific categories of production by which these benefits were distributed left little room for individual expression, so artists responded in kind, and the Professional Native Indian Artists Incorporated (PNIAI), also known as the Indian Group of Seven, formed in 1974.\textsuperscript{69} PNIAI attempted to sell their work independently, competing with the craft-oriented marketing strategies established by DIAND. The group was not able to match the government's efforts, and their demanding schedules as individual artists caused them to dissolve the organization a year later. However, other efforts, such as the exhibition \textit{Treaty Numbers 23, 287, 1171: Three Indian Painters of the Prairies} at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in 1972, helped bring contemporary Aboriginal art to public attention, rather than art based solely on Western notions of Aboriginal tradition or authenticity.\textsuperscript{70}

In a newspaper article from 1989, Cardinal-Schubert expressed hope that individuals categorized as "Native artists" would earn distinction as artists who also happened to be Native. She saw some of the country's more prominent artists, including Alex Janvier, Edward Poitras and Pierre Sioui, as being able to help erase such categorization.\textsuperscript{71} These concerns help distinguish the challenges facing Aboriginal women
artists from non-Aboriginal women artists at this time. While the artists identified by
Cardinal-Schubert are all male, the perceived gender imbalance is not nearly as
problematic to her as being classified according to race (Chapter Three gives further
consideration to the issue of gender in its discussion of Indigenous feminism).

Cardinal-Schubert and her fellow artists were very engaged politically, further
illustrating the particular zeitgeist of the times. Anticipating the repatriation of Canada’s
constitution, the early 1980s saw the emergence of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN)
from the National Indian Brotherhood,72 and following the third National Native Indian
Artists Symposium at K’san, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry
(SCANA) was formed in 1985 to consider the exclusion of Aboriginal art from many
mainstream art institutions.73 In addition to helping organize important symposiums such
as Networking, the fourth National Native Indian Arts Symposium at the University of
Lethbridge in 1987, SCANA helped develop landmark exhibitions such as Beyond History
at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1989.74 Although the organization did help generate
greater attention for contemporary Aboriginal art that dealt with colonialism and identity
politics, senior artists, particularly those working with modes of expression considered
traditional by Western standards, tended to be overlooked as a result.75 A series of events
in the 1980s, such as the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary and the debacle surrounding
the exhibition, The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples, followed
by the Oka crisis in 1990 and the 1992 quincentenary of Columbus’ arrival in the
Americas, became favoured subject matter for a number of Aboriginal artists, including
Cardinal-Schubert.

The context for Cardinal-Schubert’s achievements differed from that of the
generation that came afterwards in the sense that her generation fought to establish the idea of contemporary Aboriginal art. Aboriginal women artists who were able to reap the benefits of that struggle include Rebecca Belmore, who represented Canada at the 51st Venice Biennale in 2005, as well as KC Adams and Mary Anne Barkhouse, both of whom are widely recognized for challenging and ambitious work. As noted by Martin, these artists, along with their male counterparts, tended to embrace their subject matter with an ironic stance towards colonialism, rather than anger. Other Aboriginal women artists working in a similar manner include Rosalie Favell and Nadia Myre.

I will now briefly review a selection of Cardinal-Schubert’s solo and group exhibitions to better understand the scope of her talents and the breadth of her achievements. *This Is My History*, mentioned earlier, was organized in 1985 at The Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, now the Thunder Bay Art Gallery. The exhibition was co-curated by Cardinal-Schubert and Calgary writer Deborah Godin. As noted by Carol Podedworny, the gallery’s exhibition co-ordinator and primary curator, the work can be seen as both contemporary Canadian and Native. This was the first exhibition of Cardinal-Schubert’s work in eastern Canada, and while it drew on many personal aspects of the artist’s mixed heritage, the audience could relate to the broader themes of history and the presentation of two distinct cultures. Large-scale oil on canvas works in diptych and triptych form, as well as smaller painted works and graphite drawings, reveal the influence of Western artistic practices. *Great Canadian Dream — Pray for me, Louis Riel*, a large oil on canvas triptych, exemplifies such works (Fig. 3). Cardinal-Schubert completed the piece in 1978, strategically employing European artistic conventions, such as realistic portraiture and hieratic scale, to convey historiographic
subject matter, namely a history of the Métis people within a dominant colonial discourse. Other historical portraits included those of John Ware, a former African-American slave who emigrated to Alberta and eventually established a ranch, and Chief Robert Smallboy, who moved his followers to the Kootenai Plains in the 1960s to revive Aboriginal lifestyles, for which he received the Order of Canada (Figs. 6, 7). Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in pictographs as an artistic subject extended to the large circular rock formations known as medicine wheels found in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana and Wyoming. She found the mysterious form of Stonehenge in England analogous to these medicine wheels, as both were products of ancient cultures. The artist also depicted various constellations of stars, including Hercules and the Buffalo Nebula, a personal creation symbolizing Native life and survival (Figs. 8, 9).

In 1986, Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras, was also organized by the Thunder Bay Art Gallery and curated by Garry Mainprize. Over the period of a year, the exhibition travelled nationally to Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Alberta, back to Ontario and stopped twice in Québec. The exhibition title suggests that the art on display presents a shared concern for “a world which is much larger than the mere physical”, illuminating the mysteries of the human condition. As noted by Flora MacDonald, then Minister of Communications, the artists were chosen from amongst 200 who had “received traditional academic training and whose works display a contemporary vision.” Sharon Godwin, Acting Director for the gallery, also stressed the current nature of the exhibition, which featured a panel discussion on contemporary Aboriginal art. Mainprize similarly characterized the artists as “contemporary”, but also as individuals who “have not received the attention their art
Commenting on her work in the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert says her subject matter consists of Native history expressed through contemporary art, while Mainprize mentions the combination of Aboriginal spiritual values and political issues. One can see these themes play out through the artist’s two and three-dimensional works, often in subtle and unexpected ways. For instance, Warshirt: A Declaration presents a central figure reminiscent of pictographs, which one can perceive visually, but whose meaning is not completely clear (Fig. 10). Similarly, Songs of My Ancestors – Medicine Rib Stones, Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits are Forever Within, and Self-Portrait – Warshirt Shield are all plaster forms that, while visually compelling, are intentionally impenetrable (Figs. 11, 12, 13). In that sense, the plaster warshirt can be seen as offering protection, unlike the plaster medicine bundles which arose out of a traumatic experience the artist had when a museum curator showed her a dismantled power bundle that had been methodically tagged and stored in a cupboard. By creating the bundles out of plaster, such desecration would be impossible. Rider includes the notation “C-31” just above the figure of a horse, both of which are superimposed over a distraught female form, a not so subtle reference to amendments to the Indian Act, while Four Directions – Warshirts: This is the Spirit of the West, This is the Spirit of the East, This is the Spirit of the North, This is the Spirit of the South along with The Earth Belongs To Everyone II consider the Chernobyl disaster, and how such events have the positive power to bring people together (Figs. 14, 15, 16). Following, perhaps, from her interest in ancient pictographs, Cardinal-Schubert incorporates stencils of handprints into these works, at once recalling prehistoric cave paintings found in Europe and South America.
Mounted in 1988 at the Walter Phillips Gallery at the Banff Centre, the exhibition, *Revisions*, featured Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Jimmie Durham, Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, Zacharias Kunuk, Mike MacDonald, Alan Michelson, Edward Poitras and Pierre Sioui. Four years later, a catalogue was published, in which the exhibition curator, Helga Pakasaar, describes how Native artists had “become increasingly valorized by white culture”, particularly as the anniversary of Columbus’ expedition drew near. She argues that real progress would only come from political developments in the form of Aboriginal self-determination, and says that a celebration of contemporary Native culture was necessary to counter ethnographic displays associated with *The Spirit Sings* exhibition. In their work, the artists in *Revisions* attempted to confound any sense of representation except for the immediate ones that they generated through their own artworks. Cardinal-Schubert’s contribution to this exhibition included a series of collage work panels entitled *Keepers of the Vision* that combined aspects of Native culture as well as the artist’s trademark sweatlodge and warshirt forms (Fig. 17). Accompanying the panels, *Burial Platform: Contemporary Artifact VI (Keine Erste Hilfe)* uses sculptural elements to address the plight of the Lubicon Cree people in northern Alberta. Beneath what appears to be a sarcophagus, in the form of an infant wrapped in a Hudson’s Bay blanket, and unceremoniously skewered by a small flagpole, lies a first-aid kit bearing the inscription, “No First Aid for Canada’s First Peoples”, written in German and English. (Fig. 18).

Presenting a similar perspective, *Beyond History* was an exhibition organized by Karen Duffek and Tom Hill at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1989. The show featured ten Aboriginal artists, primarily Canadian, including Carl Beam, Bob Boyer, Joane Cardinal-
Schubert, Domingo Cisneros, Robert Houle, Mike MacDonald, Ron Noganosh, Jane Ash Poitras, Edward Poitras, and Pierre Sioui. As stated in catalogue essays by Hill and Duffek, the artists in the exhibition sought to challenge dominant notions of Canadian culture. At the same time, they did not seek to associate themselves with notions of tradition or tribal affiliations, which Duffek describes as a potentially marginalizing practice through ethnicity. Instead, the artists spoke from very personal, and highly politicized perspectives, signaling a break from the collective and tribal responses of Native artists in the 1960s. In addition to six warshirt assemblages, Cardinal-Schubert created two other large works for the Beyond History exhibition: Preservation of a Species: Shroud-Spill and Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze (Figs. 19, 20, 21). The works defy easy categorization as the artist incorporated a variety of media, combining wall-mounted two-dimensional works with sculptural works situated in the round. Like the warshirts, the theme of preservation critiqued the tendency of museums to lock Native culture and, by implication, Native people in the past. At the same time, Aboriginal material culture preserved within a museum was not allowed to function as it was intended by simply returning to the earth. Cardinal-Schubert used everyday materials such as tape and newspaper to construct components of the Deep Freeze installations, drawing on her knowledge and experience working within galleries and museums to make a starkly anti-conservationist statement.

In 1992, INDIGENA: Perspectives of Indigenous Peoples on Five Hundred Years, a large group exhibition featuring eighteen contemporary Aboriginal artists, was held at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull (now Gatineau), Québec. The exhibition was co-curated by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, and ran for six months, six weeks of
that concurrently with *Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*. Meanwhile, in the United States, *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Art* opened at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, while *The Submuloc show/Columbus wohns* exhibition, curated by Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, travelled to twelve venues in the United States between 1992-1994. It was no accident that the exhibitions coincided with the quincentenary of Columbus’ voyage, or, in the case of *INDIGENA*, with the 125th anniversary of Canada’s Confederation as well. *INDIGENA* provided a checkpoint for the last 500 years of history to consider what the future might hold. The impetus for the project can be attributed in part to the impassioned speech made in 1989 by George Erasmus, then national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, at the “Towards 1992” conference held in Ottawa, in which he pointedly asked, “What are we going to celebrate?”

For the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert presented *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built)*, which referenced aspects of her family life, including her father Joseph and her brother Douglas, as well as the historical and contemporary experiences of Aboriginal people within Canada (Figs. 22, 23). The piece was shown the previous year in Toronto as part of *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians*. Regarding the work’s configuration, Cardinal-Schubert states, “There is a choice being offered to the viewers as to how they wish to look at Native people.” The arrangement of the installation forces the viewer into uncomfortable positions in order to read the text through tiny peepholes, some tinted with red glass, while the others were clear. Cardinal-Schubert describes how those viewing the installation may attempt to take apart the narratives that are presented,
deconstructing her identity and that of her family.\textsuperscript{111}

Coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the Muttart Public Art Gallery in 1997, now the Calgary Art Gallery, the exhibition \textit{Two Decades} offered a twenty year retrospective of Cardinal-Schubert’s artistic achievements that travelled to Ontario, the Yukon and British Columbia over a period of two years. As director/curator Kathryn Burns notes, Cardinal-Schubert’s career started in many ways at the Muttart, with her work developing to address not only Native concerns, but those of all humanity.\textsuperscript{112} The exhibition tended to eschew a linear, chronological display, and instead, showed new works amongst older ones, forming more of a circular view, reminiscent of an Indigenous understanding of time as cyclical,\textsuperscript{113} as well as reflecting the artist’s own process-based approach to making work.\textsuperscript{114} The show featured early two-dimensional works from the 1970s, such as \textit{Once I Held A Rabbit (Mary 74)}, as well as works from \textit{This Is My History} and \textit{Beyond History}, and more recent mixed media installations. In spite of attempts to prevent viewers from reading the exhibition chronologically, Cardinal-Schubert’s commitment to environmental and political causes, as seen in \textit{Oka, Oka, Aiee eee}, one of a series of mixed media works made to resemble flags, and \textit{Warshirt for Clayoquot Sound}, provide glimpses into the arc of her work’s trajectory.

This brief overview of Cardinal-Schubert’s solo and group exhibitions reveals a deep concern for political issues, autonomy and engagement with contemporary art. The following section will consider her artwork and related accomplishments as representative of a generation of Aboriginal women artists who made significant achievements in their own careers while paving the way for others. As a child of the early 1940s, the artist would reach adulthood just as the rights of women\textsuperscript{115} and Aboriginal people were
receiving greater public attention. Cardinal-Schubert would see Bill C-31 come to pass in 1985, amending discriminatory treatment of Aboriginal women under the Indian Act. While her training and career as an artist took place after the “renaissance” of Aboriginal art that began in the 1950s and 60s, they coincided with the increasing awareness of contemporary Aboriginal forms of expression. Tanya Harnett, Assistant Professor in the Department of Art and Department of Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge, describes many of Cardinal-Schubert’s artistic generation as activists, but they can also be characterized as “…socially active, politically aware, and professionally trained individuals…” who share a “…wry and ironic humour that permeates much of their art.”

Cardinal-Schubert approached art making with a subversive sense of humour when it came to engaging with Western art history and the art historical process, even as she introduced more serious aspects of her own culture. Her transgressive approach to art making can be attributed in part to her particular understanding of art and art history. She appreciated art because it not only involved physical expression, but could also offer additional forms of expression, where one could cross boundaries of race and academic disciplines. In the visual arts, she worked primarily in four areas: painting, installation art, works on paper, and collage. She also worked in sculpture and public art, and was an admitted “closet poet” until seeing her work in print made her take poetry more seriously. Regardless of the medium, Cardinal-Schubert was prolific, and was motivated by the imperative task of portraying the strength, power and sophistication of Aboriginal people.

In addition to Indigenous imagery and compositions, Cardinal-Schubert drew on a
variety of source materials, particularly when using collage and text. She admitted to wanting to express Aboriginal identity in new ways, and avoid what other artists had made appear commonplace.\textsuperscript{128} At the same time, she realized that she was part of a larger cultural convention.

The premise of the ‘works of art’ that I do is based on old knowledge, passed down to me through generations of people. I was taught by my parents and interpret the world to this day through their eyes and the eyes of those who taught them.\textsuperscript{129}

Cardinal-Schubert also sensed the gravity of her position as an artist, and the opportunities it could offer in terms of communication. Early in her career, she decided that she wanted to make important statements through art. She expressed it best in saying that she was “…not going to take this lightly, not going to just paint pretty pictures.”\textsuperscript{130}

While her work may be visually compelling in terms of colour and form, she saw that beauty as merely a way to attract people to her work, and then take over their minds.\textsuperscript{131} Although Cardinal-Schubert’s art tends to have a strong political message, she ultimately saw it as a place where people could come together, and she often used text to attract a more inclusive audience.\textsuperscript{132}

Cardinal-Schubert’s work addresses many political and environmental causes; as a result, her art tends to have complex and varied associations. She drew fondly from her family’s history, as well as aspects of Native culture, such as the ancient pictographs noted earlier\textsuperscript{133} (Fig. 24). Although brief, her exposure to Christian iconography and brightly painted idols at convent school influenced her choice of colours,\textsuperscript{134} and she likened her depiction of red dots on open hands to stigmata\textsuperscript{135} (Figs. 2, 5, 15). The artist described her approach to art making as working in a circle, with many circles spinning off from it,
allowing her to explore different tangents, and then return to the main circle. As Cardinal-Schubert remarked, she saw life reflected in art, and art reflected in life, and worked in the continuum that resulted between the two.

Early in her career, Cardinal-Schubert recognized the importance of history in relation to both the present and the future. Immediately following graduation from university she proceeded to make what I consider would be some of her most important paintings, the *Great Canadian Dream* series, in addition to a number of historical portraits that recognize marginalized Canadian histories. She ended her series of historical portraits to avoid sentimentalizing her subjects or presenting them as romanticized images of Aboriginal people. As noted by Godin, the portraits in this series only presented a portion of the history that the artist wanted to communicate to her viewers. She later drew inspiration from Native pictographs, seeking a connection with her own ancestry, while drawing attention to a highly developed Indigenous culture. Cardinal-Schubert noted the skill necessary to create the original pictographs, comparing her experience making metal engraving plates for printmaking with making a curvilinear line in stone. The artist also recognized that the pictographs were being vandalized and defaced, and that her only opportunity to save them would be to recreate them, relying in some instances on early twentieth century photographic records from the Glenbow Museum.

Some of Cardinal-Schubert’s most distinctive and emblematic creations are her warshirts. The warshirts are a series of works begun in the mid-1980s, executed in a variety of media, from delicate paper assemblages to lush and vibrant paintings on canvas and even installation works. Throughout all of their various permutations, the works in the series were inspired by Cardinal-Schubert's desire to reclaim Aboriginal culture. In that
sense, they can be seen as creating opportunities for future generations. Her direct experience with warshirts can be traced directly to her ancestry as a member of the Blood or Kainai nation, a people who historically occupied territories throughout southern Alberta. The artworks often incorporate personal accoutrements, just as historic hide warshirts did, recording a narrative related to the person who wore it. As noted by Berlo and Phillips, an individual's identity could be associated so strongly with the accomplishments recorded on articles such as a warshirt, that a person would be recognized on the basis of what was worn, rather than any physical likeness.\textsuperscript{143} Cardinal-Schubert describes her interest in the warshirt,

Metaphorically speaking, I view the ancestral warshirts as an honest outward expression of power - a badge of courage...Visible from afar - there was an allowed decision to be made independently of whether to approach the wearer or not.\textsuperscript{144}

The warshirt series can also be seen as a stinging indictment of collection and storage practices by museums. Prompted by a visit to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa to view the historic garments stored there, Cardinal-Schubert was horrified to find them stored in plastic bags far away from public view.\textsuperscript{145} What she perceived as disrespectful treatment can be seen reflected in the six paper warshirts that would feature prominently in the Beyond History exhibition. Each warshirt from that particular series was covered in a transparent plastic sleeve, referencing the storage of the actual objects in museums, and mounted on wooden crosses, which Cardinal-Schubert referred to as an imposed mark of desecration from another culture\textsuperscript{146} (Fig. 19).

Given the warshirts' strong link to the artist's personal identity, as well as their almost tangible spiritual dimension,\textsuperscript{147} it is no surprise that Cardinal-Schubert found the
museum storage of these items to be egregious. She also recognized that the objects constituted an important part of Aboriginal heritage, but due to their appropriation by collectors, traders, and ultimately institutions, their histories would be restricted or altogether unavailable to the families that still asserted ownership of these garments.\textsuperscript{148} Cardinal-Schubert’s treatment of the subject is akin to Fred Wilson’s re-staging of museum collections that draws attention to the manner in which institutions consciously or unconsciously promulgate racist attitudes or behaviour.\textsuperscript{149} In spite of the link to personal identity, Cardinal-Schubert also likened the warshirts, and other works protesting the mistreatment of sacred cultural objects, to “protective armour”, countering the ways in which the actual objects were handled.\textsuperscript{150}

Celebrating the artists with whom she exhibited in \textit{Beyond History}, Cardinal-Schubert created the installation \textit{Art Tribe} for the exhibition \textit{Preservation of a Species} at Galerie Articule in Montréal in 1990. \textit{Art Tribe} was also an examination of cultural, curatorial and institutional practice. The installation was later remounted as part of a traveling exhibition at The New Gallery in Calgary called \textit{Fear of Others}. In its Calgary incarnation, the installation was an amalgamation of cheap, mass-produced department store goods, where kitsch items such as plastic toy cowboy and Indian figures, awards of authenticity and seals of approval critique the seemingly arbitrary division between high and low culture, while presenting incisive social and political commentaries.\textsuperscript{151}

Also installed as part of the \textit{Preservation of a Species} exhibition at Galerie Articule was \textit{The Lesson}.\textsuperscript{152} The temporary walls that comprise a makeshift classroom setting were painted black, which Cardinal-Schubert then covered with empowering messages about Aboriginal heritage and culture written in chalk. The installation
eventually developed an interactive component with First Nations people gathering to speak about their own experiences in residential schools.\textsuperscript{153} According to the artist, the experience allowed residential school survivors to re-assert their voice under a new educational paradigm.\textsuperscript{154}

Cardinal-Schubert also created \textit{Drum Dancer: the Messenger AKA Prairie Pony}, a permanent public art piece commissioned for the Calgary International Airport, which she worked on over a period of four years and completed in 2005.\textsuperscript{155} The sculpture depicts a horse in a decidedly non-Western form, as the artist returned again to the pictographic images to honour them in a new way.\textsuperscript{156} Mounted on a large mound-shaped base, the work overlooks a terrazzo floor designed by the artist depicting the four directions. The sculpture points south to the pictographs in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park.\textsuperscript{157} Painted with Cardinal-Schubert’s signature motifs and vibrant colours, the sculpture is shaped predominantly out of plaster, with steel mesh, plywood and rebar reinforcements. Although secured to a base, the sculpture has incurred some damage due to people climbing on it, and has required some repairs and a Plexiglas partition to be placed around it\textsuperscript{158} (Fig. 25). The piece is meant to remind travelers of the history and continued presence of Aboriginal people in the area.

Throughout her career, text was an important component of Cardinal-Schubert’s art, no more so than in the series, \textit{Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr}, which was inspired by imagined conversations with the well known west coast artist. Cardinal-Schubert also published poetry (see Appendix B), some of which, like the text in the \textit{Birch Bark Letters} series, was written on the surface of two-dimensional artworks (Figs. 26, 27, 28).
Cardinal-Schubert also wrote critical essays, the best known being “In the Red”, originally published in Fuse Magazine in 1989, and later re-published in 1997 in *Borrowed Power*, a collection of essays on appropriation. She wrote for other artists as well, such as Margo Kane, for whom she wrote the catalogue essay for her 1992 performance, *Memories Springing Waters Singing*, staged at the Banff Centre for the Arts as part of their *As Public As Race* performance series. In addition, she wrote essays for her own exhibition catalogues and curatorial work. Cardinal-Schubert was also a passionate public speaker. An excerpt from a speech she delivered in conjunction with the exhibition, *Diversities*, at the Glenbow Museum, was published as “Surviving as a Native Woman Artist” in Canadian Women Studies/Les cahiers de la femme in 1990. She also gave the keynote address for *Making A Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Contemporary Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community* held in 2003, in which she recounted a metaphorical voyage on the Aboriginal Concorde.

Cardinal-Schubert’s work as a curator can also be seen as a significant achievement that created opportunities for others. Beyond her curatorial work at the Nickle Arts Museum, she acted as an independent curator on numerous exhibitions elsewhere, among them, *Art Is Our Game: A Selection of 50 Art Works Which Celebrate the Olympic Year 1988*, which featured work by forty-seven members of the Alberta Society of Artists. The show travelled to five Alberta galleries between April and December, 1988, and celebrated artistic achievements alongside the athleticism heralded by the Olympics. Cardinal-Schubert not only curated the exhibition, she designed the catalogue as well.
Another curatorial project was *Seven Lifetimes: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: An Exhibition of the Art of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta*. Among the forty-four artists included were Jane Ash Poitras, Faye Heavyshield, Alex Janvier, George Littlechild, Sarain Stump and Gerald Tailfeathers. The exhibition was held at the Triangle Gallery for Visual Arts, now the Museum of Contemporary Art Calgary, from May to July 1993. The title of the exhibition references a prediction by elders that Aboriginal people would reassert themselves seven generations or lifetimes after Columbus’ arrival. Mounted in the “Year of the World’s Indigenous People”, the show comprises three generations of artists; those considered elders who worked in the 1950s, those mentored by the elders, and the upcoming generation, aged 5-22 at the time of the exhibition. The fifth exhibition of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta, the show presented an opportunity to reflect on past struggles and future promise, as well as healing between Native and Non-Native communities.

*Mark Makers First Nations Graphics* was another exhibition that Cardinal-Schubert curated. Part of the Regina-based MacKenzie Art Gallery’s Outreach program, the show travelled throughout Saskatchewan between 1997 and 1999. All twenty-three of the artists featured had lived and worked in Saskatchewan over the previous twenty years. Not only did the show present work to rural audiences, it broadened “the notion of First Nations graphics to include mark making on any surface by scoring, beading, quillwork, pigment and collage application,” in a contemporary art context.

Cardinal-Schubert’s last curatorial project, *Narrative Quest*, was recently mounted at the Royal Alberta Museum from November 2011 to April 2012. The show featured the
work of twenty-two Aboriginal artists from the Alberta Foundation for the Arts (AFA) collection, and addressed the importance of storytelling as shared by elders, and the related search for meaning and understanding. The exhibition had its roots in a desire to present together the works of senior Aboriginal artists alongside those of the upcoming generation represented in the AFA collection. Cardinal-Schubert, to whom the show was dedicated, offered curatorial assessment and recommendations. An excerpt from her poem, Keeper, was reprinted as part of the wall text and on the exhibition invitations. It read “Let the next Generation be born with the knowledge of what has passed.”

Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in the non-profit cultural sector allowed her to draw on her broad range of experiences and develop them in very positive ways. For example, she had an active role with SCANA as a panel member for Swimming the Mainstream: A Dialogue With Artists of Native Ancestry Who Are Receiving Critical Acclaim, part of the Networking symposium organized at the University of Lethbridge in 1987. She later served as a SCANA board member. Cardinal-Schubert also volunteered for the Calgary Aboriginal Arts Awareness Society (CAAAS), and served a term as president. During the time that she was involved with CAAAS, it provided a stable gallery space for the presentation of Aboriginal art with the F’N (First Nations) Gallery, explored theatre productions, and developed a video project that led in part to the establishment of the Aboriginal Program at the Banff Centre. She also maintained an active relationship with her alma mater, the University of Calgary, serving on the Senate and the Alumni Association board, staying involved with the Native Centre, and presenting the Honourable Dr. Douglas Cardinal Award at the annual graduation ceremony.

Cardinal-Schubert was recognized on countless occasions for her achievements. In
addition to receiving numerous scholarships and grants, she was elected to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1985,\textsuperscript{174} and admitted in 1986 as the fourth woman in Alberta to receive that honour.\textsuperscript{175} In 1993 she was given the Commemorative Medal of Canada, and for her work with CAAAS, she was honoured in a Sik Sika capturing ceremony in 1998,\textsuperscript{176} and given the name “Pano Kaki”, or “Elk Woman”.\textsuperscript{177} In 2003, Cardinal-Schubert received an Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Calgary. She was also presented with the Queen’s Golden Jubilee Medal in 2005, an Alumni Award of Excellence from the Alberta College of Art and Design in 2006, and a National Aboriginal Achievement Award in Art from the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation in 2007.

While recognized for her many personal accomplishments, Cardinal-Schubert did not seek to celebrate what she alone had achieved, but strove to create opportunities for younger artists to gain recognition as well. In a recent reflection on the Glenbow Museums’s website artist and writer Sandra Vida comments on Cardinal-Schubert’s unintended development into a role model for younger Aboriginal artists. Not only did she offer encouragement, but actively presented new opportunities through the exhibition of their work.\textsuperscript{178} Following her death, her older brother Douglas noted her courage and determination to be heard, while Jeffrey Spalding, past president of the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts, extolled Cardinal-Schubert’s importance in getting Native art recognized beyond the field of anthropology.\textsuperscript{179} Alex Janvier spoke of her importance in terms of making a place for Aboriginal art in academia by virtue of her own training.\textsuperscript{180} Similarly, Jane Ash Poitras, a friend for thirty-five years, recalled talking at great length with Cardinal-Schubert about a wide range of subjects, and her colleague’s importance in
her own development as an artist.\textsuperscript{181}

In a personal interview with this writer, Tanya Harnett spoke of the mentoring role that Cardinal-Schubert provided for her artistic growth.\textsuperscript{182} For the 1994 exhibition \textit{White Buffaloes All} at the Triangle Gallery, Harnett, then an undergraduate student at the University of Alberta, was asked to provide some art for Cardinal-Schubert to take to the gallery. The young artist was overwhelmed when she eventually saw the show, as her abstract prints were hung opposite Alex Janvier's work. Both Janvier and Cardinal-Schubert have played a mentoring role for Harnett, and the show had a significant impact on her. As she notes, "it was a private change, but Joane created the environment for that development."\textsuperscript{183} She also described how Cardinal-Schubert supported the exhibition of other Aboriginal artists simply to make sure that their presence, and not merely her own, was known in the province. Harnett cites the sense of responsibility instilled in her by Cardinal-Schubert, to do as she had done, and provide opportunities for her own up and coming students.\textsuperscript{184} Having reviewed Cardinal-Schubert's various achievements and contributions as an Aboriginal woman artist, the following chapter will consider whether or not postcolonial thought can adequately represent her concerns.
Chapter Two

Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, from a Maori perspective, on how early observations of Indigenous women by European explorers were based on “Western notions of culture, religion, race and class”, and as these views became widely disseminated, they helped to establish an imperial view of race, as well as gender, amongst the colonizers. She goes on to say that restoring “traditional roles, rights and responsibilities” is central to “any challenge of contemporary indigenous (sic) politics.” Yvonne Poitras Pratt, a Métis scholar from Alberta, shares Smith’s view on the importance of self-determination in overcoming colonialism. She became friends with Cardinal-Schubert through the Native Centre at the University of Calgary, where Poitras Pratt undertook her Bachelors, Masters and doctoral programs. She speaks warmly of Cardinal-Schubert, describing her as “very outgoing, very vibrant”, having a “colourful personality” and extremely generous in terms of offering herself or her brother Douglas as speakers for students. Poitras Pratt also notes how Cardinal-Schubert’s work offered her a connection in terms of recognizing and standing up for her own Aboriginal identity. As both a scholar and an individual, Poitras Pratt could have avoided self-identifying as Métis and actively claiming her heritage, but she recognized that this was not her path, a belief that she holds very strongly. In light of concerns about colonialism expressed in the writing and art work of Cardinal-Schubert, the following chapter will consider how postcolonial thought can represent the plight of Aboriginal women in Canada, given the general and particular circumstances of the country’s founding. So as to properly contextualize postcolonialism, I will first present its relation to imperialism and colonialism.

In his discussion of postcolonialism, Robert J. C. Young explains how over the last
500 years, a variety of factors, including economics, race and gender, influenced events that helped shape contemporary global economic systems for the betterment of Western powers.189 Young credits Edward Said with the development of postcolonial studies,190 as he demonstrated that the practices and effects of colonialism on territories and peoples could be analyzed and studied.191 Young underlines the importance of ongoing postcolonial critique rather than dismissing colonialism as a by-product of modernity, particularly given colonialism’s unprecedented scope and scale and the alignment of so many disparate societies under one economic model.192 A brief examination of the different forms of imperialism and colonialism will help to expand on these ideas.

Young makes several distinctions between imperialism and colonialism that prove helpful when considering Canada’s past and present, and the issues raised in Cardinal-Schubert’s artwork and writings. Imperial empires operated as entities controlled bureaucratically from a central government, which promoted specific ideological and financial interests, although Young argues that imperialism was very inefficient in terms of economic exploitation.193 Colonial empires developed along more practical lines for purposes such as settlement or through a trading company for the sake of commerce.194 Essentially, imperialism could be seen as having an organized, central driving force, while colonialism for the sake of trade tended to operate on a less centralized basis.195

To further contextualize postcolonialism, one must consider the expansion and thorough entrenchment of imperial and colonial interests during the early years of North American exploration starting with Christopher Columbus. According to Young, Columbus’ accidental encounter with part of what is now the Americas was not simply the result of seeking a shorter trade route to the East, but was also an opportunity to approach
Spain from the east, and strike a decisive victory against invading Muslims, even though
the Moors still occupied parts of northern Italy, likely complicating such a campaign. Moreover, while transatlantic voyages had been made prior to those of Columbus', Young also cites the improvement of ocean-going ships that would make colonization possible alongside the development of European capitalism, which rapidly began to advance in the 16th century. However, the main economic impetus to colonize was simply gold, and once one colony had been established, it was more strategic to establish many. In addition, having colonies overseas necessitated the development of navies, and these personnel could be used effectively for further settlement abroad. Hence, the simultaneous activities of imperialism and colonialism augmented their original purposes, and complemented each other in turn. To consider these events in terms of the present, Young likens the ongoing goal of increased production and consumption of imperialism to mature capitalism.

The spread of imperialism in the nineteenth century was influenced by France’s contemporaneous policies of foreign expansion, a model that was adapted by other colonial powers such as Britain due to a competitive global economic and political system. According to the French approach to colonization, those colonized were assimilated or absorbed, so they were not actually colonies at all. The approach seems egalitarian and humanitarian on the surface, with the assumption that all are created equal, and that all could achieve greatness, provided that French culture was the guiding force. Young refers to the phenomenon as the “paradox of ethnocentric egalitarianism.” Meanwhile, British imperialism assumed superiority based on race, and hence, justified itself through the civilizing mission. In other words, since those who had been colonized
could never attain the same level of learning as Europeans, colonial rule would be necessary and constant.\textsuperscript{205} Although the ideology of imperialism may have been one of civilizing the masses, the main goal was combined political and economic stability at home along with "national prestige and closed markets in the international arena through conquest."\textsuperscript{206}

Despite the all-encompassing nature of imperialism and colonialism, forces working against them still managed to emerge. Young discusses three forms of anti-colonialism that were rarely well defined and often came about through collaborations, including resistance through anti-imperialist socialism, colonial modernity, and nationalism ideologically based on a return to Indigenous forms.\textsuperscript{207} Another form of anti-colonialism that was often dominant was self-determination through self-modernization developed as a reaction to the military might of the West. Leaders of colonies who travelled amongst Western societies returned home with ideas of modernization that typically denounced Indigenous culture.\textsuperscript{208} Soon, Western lifestyles were adopted while established customs were rejected, including feudalism and cultural practices such as female infanticide. While these goals could be seen as compatible with and sympathetic to women's emancipation, their source can still be tied to colonial powers.\textsuperscript{209} Another difficulty with anti-colonial sentiment is that it can manifest itself as a form of imperialism through economic dominance, and Young cites the United States as encouraging such circumstances following the Second World War.\textsuperscript{210}

Much to the chagrin of artists such as Cardinal-Schubert, Young also describes one of the major contradictions of postcolonialism. While countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada have reached a position where they can more or less be seen as
former colonies, the original colonists, even if they fled persecution, or any other severe form of social or economic deprivation, went on to persecute the Indigenous populations, who, hence, remain colonized. In Canada, not only were such conditions established early in the country’s history, but persist through legislation such as the Indian Act. But, rather than be overly critical and dismiss the important opportunity provided by postcolonial theory to study colonialism, and hence, move beyond it, it is perhaps best to acknowledge that postcolonialism is not without its own inner conflicts or limitations. As Young puts it, the “postcolonial operates simultaneously as the colonial.”

According to Young, the difficulty in applying postcolonial theory to the representation of women is that their voices are typically non-existent. It is not that women were uninterested in anti-imperial efforts, but that they had a more immediate interest in education and civil rights. In addition to the subordinate roles of colonized women in colonial societies, a lack of education in the colonial languages of English and French limited their participation in the media, publishing, education and political spheres, at the same time as male chauvinist colonial rulers and historians exacerbated their situation.

Although women actively participated in anti-colonial movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa, men were often credited for their seemingly more visible roles. For instance, at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in 1974, only one woman, Angela Davis, was recalled amongst the numerous men who struggled for rights and freedoms in Africa and abroad. In somewhat of a contradiction, the Congress of that same year also reflected on the roles, needs and contributions of women, and acknowledged that women in traditional African societies were regarded as equals, while colonialism took away their
roles in economics and agriculture. Regardless, women’s struggles tended to be seen as separate, rather than inherent to the Congress. Poitras Pratt notes a similar scenario in her Métis community, whereby men are seen as the public face of a political structure inherited from colonial models, but women in the community are really the driving force behind any decision-making.

Young goes on to describe how some women amongst the international feminist movement believed that they were without a nation, since nations were seen as part of the greater patriarchy. As Young makes clear, women were both colonized and gendered subjects. While some women refused to align themselves with colonial interests, others used the colonial system to establish their equality within society through the courts.

Young also describes how women’s emancipation through nationalism could be seen as counter-productive in a colonial context. Patriarchal exploitation could be common to colonial regimes and Indigenous societies. Thus, women would have to fight “double colonization”, or what Poitras Pratt refers to as being “doubly marginalized”. A national cultural identity could be formed against that of the colonizer, but might be adapted from local practices that were just as problematic in terms of oppression. For instance, Indian women could be identified with Bharat Mata, Mother India, or sati, the good Hindu wife, and might be subjected to sati-daha, or widow burning, while women in Kenya could be subject to irua, or cliterodectomy. Young also cites the instance where women’s independence is temporary, only to revert back to its previous state when national freedom is achieved. Such was the case for women who entered the workforce during World War II, and afterwards had their freedoms and independence revoked by the state that they supported through the war effort. Feminist theory from the West has also
been criticized on the basis of its Eurocentrism, whereby essentialist ideas of womanhood can be just as harmful as imperial ideology, and equally bound by culture. Young offers the example of Muslim dress, which is often viewed by the West as backwards and repressive. However, as he indicates, veiling is not a "unitary phenomenon", and may be practiced differently in various cultures, with only some of them being oppressive.

In spite of the problems that Young identifies with postcolonialism, particularly for women, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak identifies useful ways for understanding its positive implications. The following section will consider her ideas on the subaltern, un-learning privilege as loss, and other strategies that Spivak presents as useful in order to assert a postcolonial critique in support of, rather than on behalf of, Aboriginal women.

In her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Spivak considers the various ways that Indian women have been silenced. In addition to generalizations put forth by intellectuals such as Foucault and Deleuze, she is critical of the way British authorities regarded Indian customs and traditions, such as widow burning. Regardless of what can be considered colonial interference and what can be considered local tradition, the matter of real consequence is that the subaltern woman be heard. In responding to her initial question, Spivak concludes that the subaltern woman cannot speak, because others speak on her behalf.

Following from the idea of speaking on behalf of others, Spivak discusses her concept of "un-learning our privilege as our loss." She describes different aspects of the project, questioning how one becomes enabled to speak on someone else's behalf, and looking at how ideas of other people are constituted by means that are specific to various situations and cultures. As discussed by Landry and MacLean, the privilege of one's
position, including race, class, nationality and gender, and even one’s situation in academia, can prevent that person from attaining knowledge of the Other, which, as Spivak notes, is often a ‘Third World’ woman. Two possible approaches to un-learning include diligently working to gain knowledge of those hidden by one’s privilege, and to speak to those same people directly so that they might sense one’s sincerity and feel that they can respond in kind.

Spivak explains how those in a position of privilege can also earn the right to be critical rather than allow their position to silence them. For instance, if a man feels that as a white male, he cannot speak on a subject as his social position prevents him from doing so, it is important for him to become critically aware of that position as well as the position of the other. As Spivak suggests, it is advantageous to avoid a deterministic view of one’s life, and seek to undermine histories that silence oneself on the basis of privilege. Otherwise, one has simply opted out of any sort of meaningful dialogue, and the situation will likely remain the same. In choosing to write about Cardinal-Schubert, part of my intention has been to un-learn my own privilege as loss.

Having discussed Young and Spivak, who argue for the merits of postcolonialism in spite of its problems, I will now review the work of several Indigenous artists, writers and theorists to consider whether or not postcolonial ideas of representation can adequately address the present concerns of Aboriginal women or reflect their lived experience. In a 1994 article entitled, “The Post Colonial Landscape”, Martha Gartner discusses a 1993 exhibition of the same name at the Mendel Art Gallery. Over a period of three years, the exhibition would use a series of public presentations, including billboards, to “build a different understanding of the land, how land means different things to
different people." While works in the exhibition would explore landscape imagery during the eighteenth and nineteenth century colonial state, as well as the twentieth century postcolonial state, Gartner is quick to point out that a denial of Aboriginal self-government indicates that a postcolonial era has not yet been reached. While admitting some ambivalence to the exhibition title, *The Post-Colonial Landscape*, Bruce Grenville, the project coordinator and curator of the exhibition, says that an awareness of colonialism suggests a state of transition beyond it, as evidenced by land claim settlements and self-government.

Contradictions aside, the curatorial committee was comprised of local, national and international members, including Peter White, Bruce Grenville, Janice Acoose, Lee-Ann Martin, Jean Fisher, Joyce Whitebear Reed, Marjorie Beaucage and Loretta Todd. Reed, who curated the billboards, echoed Gartner's sentiment saying, "We're not in post-colonialism (sic) because there is still a domination of language, the law to learn English is still the basis of a dominant society." Kay WalkingStick, who created one of the billboards, based on a diptych called *Finding the Centre*, compares her experience as a Native American living in a postcolonial culture to living a double life. Whether living on a reserve or apart from a tribal experience, her work invites the viewer to look for "the continuity between the universal and the specific, the inner and outer experience of the world." (Fig. 29). From these varying examples, one might conclude that experiences of colonialism and postcolonialism are born out of the particular, rather than the general.

In her essay, *Construction of the Imaginary Indian*, Haida/Tsimpshian educator and writer Marcia Crosby explores her ambivalence towards the term postmodernism, and by extension, postcolonialism. As she states, the recent interest in "difference" or "the
other" is not new, as Europeans have devoted themselves to studying Aboriginal people and collecting their culture for hundreds of years.\textsuperscript{246} However, the idea of what constitutes other cultures, particularly Indigenous ones, has also been conceptualized and bestowed by Europeans. So, when postmodernism appears to embrace "difference", Crosby remains skeptical, and does not accept yet another space set aside by Western civilization for Aboriginal people. Instead, she outlines her argument as an act of "confrontation and resistance", revealing the self-serving and limited nature of postmodern notions of alterity.\textsuperscript{247}

Writing in early 1991, Crosby approaches her critique from her own experience of post-secondary education, where she found alternatives to negative stereotypes and assumptions, but was no more enchanted by positive constructions of who people thought she was and what she was actually capable of accomplishing.\textsuperscript{248} She comes to terms with understanding the role and function of the "Imaginary Indian" in relation to Western concepts of knowledge, history and identity.\textsuperscript{249} Much like Edward Said's discussion of the Orient, as a necessary but wholly imaginary construct by which the West can establish itself,\textsuperscript{250} Crosby singles out the notions of "other" and "difference" as demarcations of power relationships that have been assigned by Europeans. Responding to the postmodern tendency to parody, as seen in the play \textit{Burning Water} by George Bowering, Crosby states, "There is a difference between using a theoretical critique and being used by it."\textsuperscript{251} In short, for Crosby, postmodern and postcolonial discourse is self-congratulatory and continues to benefit only the West.

Postmodernism and postcolonialism, although by no means perfect, signal a break from the past, the end of the "master narratives" that Crosby derides, and the opportunity
for different perspectives and voices to be heard. She references Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin’s book, *The Empire Writes Back*, in which they point to the similarities between the “Western historicizing consciousness” and the postmodern concept of Otherness, in spite of the latter’s ability to destabilize cultural authority. However, it is through that very act of destabilization, “a major cultural redemption”, that the ongoing appropriation and control of culture remains hidden.\(^{252}\) While that might hold true in some instances, destabilization also provides the opportunity for anyone to come forward and guide the discourse in a new direction. In her writing, Crosby seems to suggest that the odds are against an Aboriginal person having many opportunities to do so, again, a very salient point, but she and Cardinal-Schubert are proof that it is possible.

In her 1989 essay, *In the Red*, Cardinal-Schubert cites the profit-motive as that which maintains, and indeed, exacerbates colonization as seen in the appropriation and denigration of Indigenous culture. At the same time, she questions the role of ethics and the reluctance of the law to intervene.\(^{253}\) Cardinal-Schubert also shows that aspects of colonialism and postcolonialism have had unintended, contradictory outcomes, while the overall effect of both can be negative. Recounting historical events of the late nineteenth century, she argues that sometimes residential schools and agricultural work programs actually strengthened Aboriginal culture, as people were able to gather and share information in confined circumstances.\(^{254}\) However, banning sacred ceremonies such as the potlatch and the sweatlodge until the mid-twentieth century, curtailing freedoms to tiny reserves, issuing sub-standard rations, and withholding the Aboriginal right to vote to the early 1960s did much to interrupt cultural practices.\(^{255}\) The introduction of Bill C-31 in 1985 attempted to reverse the damage done to two to three generations through the loss of
language, and particularly the loss of Indian status when Native women married non-Native men. But, as will be seen in Chapter Three, Bill C-31 introduced new problems for Aboriginal women. Meanwhile, the collection of sacred objects by institutions and individuals from as far away as the former U.S.S.R., Germany and Sweden only compounded problems related to the loss of heritage.256

Cardinal-Schubert asserted that Native people had not remained in the past, becoming artists, amongst many other things.257 However, stereotypes, labels, and a refusal to acknowledge a progressive and dynamic contemporary Native culture persisted; a person was Native first, and anything else second.258 She also looked at the hypocrisy of a governing body such as the Canada Council that appeared to withhold funding on the basis of an artist’s Aboriginal heritage,259 while non-Native curators were free to apply for funding to exhibit Native artists.260 Further harm came from associating Native art and artisans with “primitive” art, which could contribute to seeing them as “dead art makers of a dead art”261 and tended to encourage the appropriation and misuse of Aboriginal culture.

Cardinal-Schubert lauded the innovative establishment of groups such as the Canadian Native Arts Foundation to counter exclusion, but questioned whether such efforts were truly necessary.262 Instead, she called for a stop to racist attitudes on the part of curators and administrators, and the need to recognize and respect the rights of artists of Native ancestry. The organizational efforts of SCANA, mentioned in Chapter One, seemed more progressive, as did those of the Native Business Summit organized in Toronto in 1985 by Robert Houle, which introduced Native businesses to one another and the public.263 Cardinal-Schubert cited Revisions, also discussed in Chapter One, as a
counterpoint exhibition to the Glenbow Museum’s *The Spirit Sings. Revisions* attempted to communicate a Native perspective, as well as provide an opportunity to show that Aboriginal people were both the producers and owners of their culture. To emphasize this point she added that Aboriginal people in Australia and New Zealand were becoming equally informed.264

In the same essay Cardinal-Schubert discussed copyright and intellectual property, firmly situating Native artists within contemporary society. She considered the protection of Native cultural icons and ceremonial practices under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and cited Harry Hillman Chartrand’s assertion that protection of intellectual property had to be enforced by necessity, since stealing was a barrier to trade.265 She returned to her main thesis, that money was to blame for appropriations, and that Native culture was especially valued because it could be considered an original and truly Canadian commodity.266 Still, she was troubled by the low level of attention paid to Native artists by the Canada Council in terms of providing grants, and the National Gallery in terms of exhibitions and collections, setting a poor example for other Canadian public galleries to follow. The perceived minimal value of Native culture compounded the issues around copyright as people assume that since public institutions did not recognize Aboriginal art, it was free for the taking. For Cardinal-Schubert, it was the commercial galleries, thoroughly connected to money, who were actually the saving grace for such art and the artists who created it.

Cardinal-Schubert concluded her essay by discussing the misguided approach of officials whose position allowed them to determine what constituted Native art. In light of
her own particular challenges to art making, the artist did not let institutional constraints stand in her way, but rather drew on them to inspire and drive her work forward. As such, she dedicated the installation in Beyond History entitled, Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze, to the Canada Council, while privately calling it In the Red. At the end of the essay, Cardinal-Schubert noted that since its first publication six years earlier, some gains had been made in government, educational institutions and the home.267

In the catalogue essay for Margo Kane’s 1992 performance, Memories Singing, Waters Springing, at The Walter Phillips Gallery in Banff, Alberta, Cardinal-Schubert again asserts ideas of Aboriginal culture. Appropriately enough, Kane had previously invited her to participate in a Vancouver forum, Telling Our Own Story: Appropriation and Indigenous Writers/Artists, which Kane later summarized and submitted as a report to the Canada Council. Cardinal-Schubert resists qualifying Kane’s performance as art, rather stating that it

transcends art, it is not a peripheral postmodern adaptation of recorded, dusted off artifice, it is a living reality, strongly intermeshed with past, present and future – a continuum of what has been done, what has continued and what will continue.268

Cardinal-Schubert describes how Kane has developed her performances over the years from her own cultural identity, instead of those found in libraries and museums. After eight years of travelling to numerous communities as a mentor to young Native people with Health and Welfare Canada, Kane retreated to Hawaii. In looking for its pre-colonial past, she was impressed by the strength of Hawaii’s Indigenous people in the present. She felt encouraged to bring her culture to mainstream audiences, inviting participation from Native and non-Native audiences alike. The performance at The Walter Phillips Gallery served as a ceremony of “deconstruction and reconstruction”, symbolized
by taking apart and putting back together direct experience, as well as that which has been imposed. Throughout the work, Kane teases viewers with her activities, as some seem magical, such as a video of the artist appearing to transform herself into a buffalo, or completely ordinary, whereby dumping a pail of elk dung on the ground in order to stir it represents just that. Eventually, audience members are drawn into the work as they share in taking down Kane’s performance space, carrying it outside the studio and up the side of the mountain to rebuild it, returning as it were, to the source.

Although writing in the particular context of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the concerns presented by Gartner, Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert indicate dissatisfaction with postcolonial theorizing. As noted by Gartner, the term implies that the colonial period is over, making it more problematic to those displaced, disenfranchised and otherwise marginalized. One can see in Cardinal-Schubert’s own writing and work how she asserts Aboriginal ideas first, resisting a peripheral or marginalized cultural role as may seem appropriate to postcolonialism or postmodernism. As discussed previously in Chapter One, with the exhibitions Beyond History and Revisions, and the writings presented in Chapter Two, Cardinal-Schubert’s resistance to being labeled as “Native”, and her desire to simply be seen as a contemporary individual with her sovereignty intact, have certain parallels with the goals of the feminist movement that will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

A desire to establish a sense of sovereignty or autonomy can be seen in many of Cardinal-Schubert’s artworks, starting with her presentation of historical portraits in the late 1970s. Great Canadian Dream: Canadian Heroes included, amongst others, portraits of Emily Carr, Crowfoot, Poundmaker and Red Crow. It was, as Cardinal-Schubert said,
an attempt at taking back my voice to declare who the heroes of Canada were.” At the same time, she was publicly acknowledging her Aboriginal heritage, something unknown to some of her friends and acquaintances. In creating the pieces for the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert considered the stark ramifications of Treaty Number 7 on its 100th anniversary in 1978. As she notes,

if we are to heal as a people we must take the facts out examine them and hold them up to the light, we must let people know and understand that we know and understand what has happened to us.

The artist’s statement belies an understanding of the situation of Native people within Canada that is distinct from officially sanctioned histories and theoretical approaches suggested by postcolonialism and postmodernism. Both theories purport to allow room for such experiences, as can be seen in Bhabha’s discussion of the hybrid and Third Space, and Jameson’s characterization of postmodemism as a practice of pastiche and schizophrenia. However, while both of these theorists present ideas that can help one grapple with colonialism, circumstances suggest that Western readers may benefit more, as the theories tend to explain conditions according to their perspective rather than those of the marginalized. As noted by Crosby, such theories can be seen as a further colonization of Aboriginal people into a postmodern landscape. No one can be seen as more keenly aware of her own situation than Cardinal-Schubert when she expresses her concern with being labeled “exotic” or “other”, idealized or made anonymous in portraits by Western artists, popular culture, souvenir shops, as well as being commodified through brand names for items including automobiles, tobacco products, household appliances, toys and sports teams; Looking at the images of these popular icons I thought of my own babies and I
said, 'God help them when they grow up and they are not just cute anymore.'

Cardinal-Schubert’s aversion to being classified under an imposed system of postcolonial thought is understandable, given postcolonialism’s seemingly close proximity to colonialism. However, it is certainly more difficult and less productive to deny that colonization occurred. Moreover, as seen in the next section, postcolonial theory can provide some useful strategies for addressing the concerns of Aboriginal women.

Following from the historical portrait series, Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in pictographs can be addressed through Bhabha’s ideas on culture as a strategy for survival. He proposes the idea by first humbling himself and honouring his subject, suggesting that we learn the most salient lessons from those who have suffered in terms of displacement, subjugation and domination. He goes on to explain that the application of culture as a survival strategy can be seen as emerging through social marginality, changing how we think of culture beyond its usual sites of reception, and encouraging us to experience it as unfinished in terms of its meaning or value, comprised of “incommensurable demands and practices, produced in the act of social survival.”

Pictographs are an excellent example of culture beyond its usual sites of reception. Not only are they located outside of a museum or gallery space, subject to the elements and the whims of any individual who happens upon them, but those found in southern Alberta are beyond the typical Western comprehension of art and art history as it has developed since the Renaissance. While some of the pictographs found in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park depict more recent historical events, as evidenced by the inclusion of guns or horses, methods for providing accurate dates for the images do not exist. Archaeological evidence indicates that Native people have inhabited the area for 3,000-
5,000 years, but the pictographs in southern Alberta do not feature largely in Western art history, and hence, may still be seen as mysterious and exotic. When Cardinal-Schubert introduced this means of depicting events, human beings, and animals into her imagery, along with images of sweatlodge and tipi forms, she transformed what was once thought marginal into the familiar (Fig. 30).

Bhabha’s notion of culture as a strategy for survival can likewise be seen in Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in warshirts, through which she offers histories that have been marginalized using unfamiliar formats. She began to work with the warshirt motif in the 1980s, creating works on paper, as well as a three-dimensional warshirt made of plaster that she could wear. Each work contained an aspect of the artist’s “diarized accounts of (her) life and struggles”, as well as considerations for the future.

In the series of six warshirts created for Beyond History, Cardinal-Schubert used personal anecdotes as well as references to historical events that had been obscured. For instance, with Is This My Grandmother’s, the artist was inspired by a piece of crochet found in her grandmother’s sewing machine (Fig. 31). While such a small detail might seem trivial, Cardinal-Schubert recognized that it allowed her to know something about her grandmother’s life, just as accoutrements on an actual warshirt identified and said something about the individual who wore it. So, while the particular warshirt has a personal meaning for the artist, it can also be related to the appropriation of Aboriginal culture in both public and private collections. Through the generic allusion to a “grandmother”, a broader public could also consider similar implications for aspects of their own histories if personal items or family heirlooms were stolen or lost. Other warshirts in the series for Beyond History include Remember Dunbow, which prompts
viewers to consider the experience of Aboriginal students at the Dunbow Industrial School,\textsuperscript{287} one of many such institutions active across the country between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century;\textsuperscript{288} and Remnant II, which includes a caption indicating the faux garment’s purchase from Christie’s auction house. Cardinal-Schubert also inscribed accession numbers onto the works to indicate their collection by museums.

As she developed the series of works further, Cardinal-Schubert likened her warshirts to “protective armour”, as in the plaster medicine bundles she created to counter disrespectful displays\textsuperscript{289} and the disassembling of sacred objects by public institutions\textsuperscript{290} (Fig. 12). From 1991, Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt incorporates abstract references to warshirts and tipi lodgepoles, as well as a collage of various other elements, including a bingo card, a photograph of the artist, a fortune cookie fortune, and a poem from the artist's Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr series. In addition to other fragments of text, the artist has signed her name “Cardinal-Schubert, RCA”, referencing her induction into the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts (Fig. 26).

Created in 1992 and displayed as part of About Face, a 2005 exhibition of contemporary Native American, First Nations and Inuit self-portraiture, Self-Portrait, Warshirt; The Americas Canopy, a painting/installation, recalls both a “spiritual, woman’s home space”, as well as “the bloody history of Native peoples and the suffering of Native women”\textsuperscript{291} (Fig. 32). While the large painting is framed under glass, the piece also includes a tambourine hung off to the right with a red handprint on it, as well as a lacrosse mask, which has been painted pink, hanging just above the work. These motifs allude to Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in protection, either through the mark made by a hand\textsuperscript{292} or the sturdiness of the mask.
In her warshirt from the *Dream Bed* series, Cardinal-Schubert related a spiritual experience she had at Head Smashed In Buffalo Jump in the mid-1980s to her surgery for breast cancer ten years later\(^{293}\) (Fig. 33). The artist describes how thinking back to the dream bed, a hill used in a vision quest,\(^{294}\) allowed her to relax and feel safe on the operating table.\(^{295}\) *Urban Warshirt* - *Metro Techno*, part of a more recent series from 2007, combines aspects of Aboriginal culture with technology from the urban environment, such as beadwork and a DVD\(^{296}\) (Fig. 34). As discussed further in Chapter Three, urban life may pose another set of challenges for Aboriginal people to overcome. Whether Cardinal-Schubert developed her warshirts as paper assemblages, paintings on canvas or as sculptures in the round, they can all be seen as presenting culture from a marginalized position in order to survive.

Cardinal-Schubert's use of text in her artwork and poetry can also be seen as a cultural strategy for survival. As an Aboriginal woman artist, her writing emerges from a marginalized position, covering a variety of related subjects, from the experiences of Aboriginal people in Canada to those of another woman artist, namely, Emily Carr. Cardinal-Schubert was not alone in her aesthetic use of text; in fact, several of her artistic peers, including Jane Ash Poitras, Kay WalkingStick, Carl Beam and Robert Houle, also used text effectively in their work to address the plight of Aboriginal culture, and the imposition of a new language and colonial ideology. One of Cardinal-Schubert's initial uses of text came about during the creation of some of her early warshirts and plaster medicine bundles. While these works were meant to counter the display of ceremonial or otherwise sacred objects in museums, she found her work was drawn into the same scenario. It had been labeled "Native", and the works were seen as "contemporary
artifacts"*, so she used text in such instances to regain control of how the work was received. Poitras Pratt also recognizes the value of text in Cardinal-Schubert’s work, even in the titling, as it allows the viewer to see what the artist is trying to do, providing context and guiding one’s interpretation of the work.

For the installation piece, *Art Tribe*, Cardinal-Schubert produced her own text panel, which was mounted on the gallery wall to explain what the piece was about. Aware that such information is usually put in a catalogue, she was determined to exercise her own right to talk about the work, rather than leave it to critics or historians to determine what her thought process was when she made it. Similarly, she often found that the curatorial writing in catalogues did not present a lot of information related to the artist’s creative process. She was further troubled that some people believed that artists had no place speaking about their work. She argued that artists prefer to communicate as directly as possible with their audience, and that there is a desire to “eliminate this middleman, this interpreter.”

As with the series of works featuring historical portraits, pictographs and warshirts, Cardinal-Schubert used text as a cultural strategy for survival in her installations that sought to present marginalized histories through unfamiliar formats. For *The Lesson*, the walls of the gallery space were painted black, allowing the artist to write directly on them. As with *Art Tribe*, the text was placed in a very immediate position in relation to the viewer, but since *The Lesson* considered, amongst other things, the residential school system, the walls mimicked blackboards and the means for presenting previously obscured histories of Aboriginal people. *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built)* also presented marginalized
histories in chalk text on black walls. Using narratives drawn from her family life and that of other Aboriginal people, and presented in a context and by means that might have been both unfamiliar and challenging to the viewer, the artist changed the typical reception of culture, encouraging us to experience it as incomplete and divergent.

Cardinal-Schubert’s poetry similarly presented marginalized histories. Her series *The Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr* presented fictional conversations with Carr, addressing obstacles that both artists faced in their career based on either gender or race. As Cardinal-Schubert explains,

...if I can talk to Emily Carr about these issues then ... non-Native people will [respond]...Because we have so much importance attached to words ...we tend to read them – we even read graffiti – so I’m fairly confident that people will read the words.302

Through her poems to Carr, Cardinal-Schubert expressed regret over such events as the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ voyage, as well as absurd justifications for why she was denied arts funding by the Canada Council. The artist also wrote poems inspired by Aboriginal subjects, such as her experience of visiting Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, her Homage to Robert Smallboy, and the importance of Native heritage (see Appendix B).

In spite of her struggles to assert a sense of Aboriginal sovereignty, Cardinal-Schubert seemed proud of the various mainstream honours bestowed upon her, such as being inducted into the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts. Such seemingly contradictory behaviour can also be seen as a cultural strategy for survival, and perhaps a reflection of her bi-racial heritage. Cardinal-Schubert’s actions can be compared to the British-born artist Yinka Shonibare, who has added the title of Member of the “Most Excellent Order of the British Empire” to his name since it was awarded to him. As
Shonibare notes, he could have refused the honour as others in his position had, given its association with colonial power. But he felt it was more useful to accept it, and "make an impact from within than from without."\textsuperscript{303} Similarly, Cardinal-Schubert's brother Douglas remarked that although he has accepted several honourary degrees from institutions that still very much observe European traditions of education, he considers the experience worthwhile in terms of what he can learn.\textsuperscript{304} Chapter Two indicates that postcolonial thought attempts to explain to a Western audience the circumstances of those who have been colonized. But, as with the subaltern, postcolonialism does not provide a direct means for the colonized to communicate their concerns. Chapter Three will further consider the means for Aboriginal women artists to establish their voices in light of Cardinal-Schubert's work.
Chapter Three

According to Harnett, advocacy for recognition of contemporary Aboriginal art occupied a large part of Cardinal-Schubert’s role as an artist due to the particular period in which she and her peers emerged. While this generation of activist-artists could be seen as establishing many frontiers benefiting those that came after, the sense of struggle was not always appealing to her. Although Harnett acknowledges the privilege she has been afforded, such as the immediate recognition of her work as both Native and contemporary, she has considered less openly defiant ways to effect change. Similarly, Poitras Pratt discusses the need to make change in how Aboriginal culture is received, such as the use of “voice” in her digital storytelling project in order to reclaim heritage, even introducing audiences to people from the Fishing Lake Métis Settlement via on-line communication tools. The project reflects Poitras Pratt’s interest in partnering, establishing an actual dialogue, and allowing members of the Fishing Lake community to see how an external audience appreciates their stories. To broaden the ideas set forth by Harnett and Poitras Pratt, the following chapter will consider how Aboriginal women writers assert concerns in a society that has only begun to address women’s rights and Aboriginal rights in a general sense. To provide some context, I will begin by briefly examining the history of women’s experiences in Canada.

European women who came to the country as pioneers were largely responsible for raising families, and could work in partnership with their husbands to manage the household economy. Native women also played an active role in society, helping to link and support both Indigenous and European cultures through the fur trade. However, by 1867, Victorian society, transplanted from England, only allowed women to work outside
of the home as teachers or nurses.\textsuperscript{311}

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, upper-class women were able to participate in reform movements engaged in various causes, such as religious instruction, bans on liquor sales, improving working conditions, housing, providing for single women, and socialised health and child welfare.\textsuperscript{312} The reform efforts gradually developed into the Suffrage Movement, Canada’s first wave of feminists. The opportunity for women outside of Québec to vote came with the end of the First World War.\textsuperscript{313}

The opportunity to vote did not bring full equality, however. Even though women entered the work force in unprecedented numbers during World War II, they returned to the home afterwards.\textsuperscript{314} It was not until the 1960s, with the protest of nuclear weapons, that the second wave of Canadian feminists formed.\textsuperscript{315} In 1967, the government responded to women’s concerns over the lack of opportunities and institutional inequalities with a royal commission, studying the status of women, but providing few solutions.\textsuperscript{316} At the same time, definitions of art materials and processes became more expansive.\textsuperscript{317} Notable non-Aboriginal Canadian women artists included Mary Pratt, Kim Ondaatje, and Christiane Pflug, who documented their immediate domestic environments,\textsuperscript{318} Gathie Falk, who transformed everyday acts into performance art, and Joyce Wieland, who merged a variety of materials and concerns, creating paintings, drawings, films, textile works and sculptures.

As in Canada, women in the United States also began to advocate for equal rights during the 1960s, with artists such as Judy Chicago developing “central core” imagery,\textsuperscript{319} Martha Rosler juxtaposing images of domestic spaces and the Vietnam War,\textsuperscript{320} and Carolee Schneemann, who used the female body as her medium in a number of
performance-based works. Writing in 1971, Linda Nochlin outlined the fallacies and pitfalls that branch out from the question as to why there are no great women artists. Nochlin set forth the hypothesis that women are incapable of greatness, to which many respond that great women artists are merely undiscovered, or that women artists produce distinctively different art forms than men. However, Nochlin rejected efforts to seek out great women artists, simply because the standards by which white male artists achieve greatness, be it “Genius” or “Talent”, have all been established by and for white male artists. She tested her premise further by considering the artistic output of the aristocracy in comparison to women, and arrived at the conclusion that social situations are responsible for how art is made, who makes art, and whether or not it is considered great. In closing, Nochlin suggested that women could use their subjugated position to draw out fallacies, and either with or without men, build anew on what has previously not been established, that is, the unknown.

If one follows Nochlin’s logic, there have been no great Aboriginal women artists in Western art history simply because the social situation has not allowed for such a possibility. Aboriginal material culture, no matter how distinctive and creative, was not acknowledged by the dominant settler society as such. As voiced by Jensen in Chapter One, Native art and culture were typically the purview of anthropology, and art by Native women, if it happened to receive any notice, was relegated to artifact or craft. In order to consider the struggle of Aboriginal women artists asserting concerns in a society that has only recently begun to address the rights of women and Aboriginal people, it is useful to further consider art and craft designations and their effect.

A weaver and curator, Kathy M’Closkey looks at how European views of art and
craft have developed, and how those views have informed the production of textiles by Aboriginal women. In terms of origins, she points to the distinction and conceptual elevation of art during the Renaissance, with the subsequent colonial empires spreading similar ideas on an international basis.\(^{322}\) In addition to the separation of art from craft, the notion of art being a solely male pursuit was also promulgated.\(^{323}\) Against the historical backdrop of art's escalation in Western society, M'Closkey examines its implications at the Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio on Baffin Island.

Echoing Jensen, M'Closkey traces the European evolution of fine art, particularly painting and its conceptual component of drawing, which were seen as distinct from manual crafts such as weaving, and other Indigenous forms of material culture, often superficially viewed as craft and left for anthropologists to study.\(^{324}\) M'Closkey looks at how the art and craft designations became canonized by philosophers such as Kant during the late eighteenth century, and how those working in so-called craft areas of production were disparaged further by the mechanization and fierce economic competition of the Industrial Revolution. As a result, textiles, particularly those produced by women, whether European or non-European, went largely unnoticed. As M'Closkey points out, the distinction between art and craft was almost as devastating to Indigenous people as the loss of land to property ownership,\(^{325}\) since it did not exist in Aboriginal societies until it was introduced by Europeans.

M'Closkey then goes on to discuss the success of the Pangnirtung weave shop as a paradox. The conditions of the workshop, where the process of weaving appears as a collaborative activity amongst the women employed there, rather than as singular, individual expression, in addition to the imported technologies and materials used to
create the works, would seem to deny the status of these works as 'art' and relegate them
to the lesser category of 'craft' under the art and craft designation. However, individuals
who develop a design for weaving may be distinguished as artists from those that merely
weave.\textsuperscript{326} Ultimately, the workers may not see what they produce as anything more than a
way to make a living.\textsuperscript{327} M'Closkey concludes by stating that the designation of products
from the weave shop as art, along with adept marketing, tends to obfuscate the ways in
which the goods are actually produced to make them economically viable. In spite of its
success, the weave shop may be limiting creativity more than promoting it,\textsuperscript{328} given the
focus on making saleable products that are designed by only a few of the workers. While
the conditions of the Inuit weavers in Pangnirtung are quite particular, their story provides
a useful opportunity to consider how objects were made before the introduction of
capitalism and the distinction of art from craft, in order to recognize how greatly those
concepts can deprive individuals of their self-expression.

Writing in 1973, Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro consider how women artists
have asserted their concerns using imagery based on the "central cavity" despite its
historically negative reception. As they write,

to be a woman is to be an object of contempt, and the vagina, stamp of femaleness,
is devalued. The woman artist, seeing herself as loathed, takes that very mark of
her otherness and by asserting it as the hallmark of her iconography, establishes a
vehicle by which to state the truth and beauty of her identity.\textsuperscript{329}

Chicago and Schapiro discuss the iconography of several twentieth century women
artists working in the Western tradition of art, from Georgia O'Keefe to Emily Carr. In
their own work, they incorporate the "central cavity which defines them as women" in
order to change the negative connotations of such imagery.\textsuperscript{330} Their efforts can certainly
be seen as pioneering in terms of feminism and Western art history. However, non-Western women, or women of colour, are not considered in their brief essay. As with Chicago’s monumental installation work, *The Dinner Party*, completed in 1979, a tendency to identify essential characteristics belonging to all women can ignore certain complexities of historical and daily lived realities. Similarly, working in the same context as Chicago and Schapiro, artists such as Martha Rosler assert a difference between “feminist art” and “women’s art”.

Here, it is worth returning to Young’s assertion in Chapter Two that Indigenous women were discriminated against twice, on the basis of their race and their gender. As well, it is important to be aware of the limitations of Western female subject constitution, as discussed by Spivak, Mohanty, hooks and Minh Ha. The situation is no less diverse within Canada, as Poitras Pratt identifies some of the very particular circumstances facing Métis women and men as they attempt to establish their rights under what has become known as the “Hunt for Justice”. Hence, it is important to bear in mind the historical, geographical, racial and socio-economic differences amongst women, and address these complexities with the care and attention they deserve. In discussing the means by which Aboriginal women artists assert their concerns, I will attempt to do so while maintaining, as Doreen Demas has done, that there is no essential or universal Aboriginal woman.

In this regard, Grace Ouellette considers the areas in which post-colonial theory and Western feminism do not address issues brought forward by Indigenous feminism. She argues that contemporary feminism typically does not address the “multi-oppression” of Aboriginal women, and calls for the recognition of a “distinctly Aboriginal
worldview". In Canada, Ouellette recounts how Aboriginal women were mobilized in the late 1960s at roughly the same time as the broader feminist movement, but for vastly different reasons.

According to Ouellette, discrimination on the basis of race, gender and marital status under the Indian Act provided the motivation for the Aboriginal women’s movement in Canada. Groups such as Indian Rights for Indian Women (IRIW) and the Tobique women’s group, from the Tobique reserve in New Brunswick, sought help from the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, as well as writer Janet Silman and artist Shirley Bear to help document their experiences. Following several successful conferences in the early 1970s, the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) was formed in 1974, to represent “Indian, Inuit and Metis (sic) women.” In particular, Aboriginal women sought to change the legislation that denied their Native Indian status once they married a non-treaty person. While Aboriginal women recognized that men from their communities were not responsible for the Indian Act, they none-the-less benefit from the systemic discrimination.

Sexual oppression did become a matter of contention, though, because NWAC was not always included in Aboriginal delegations to conferences held by the federal government. While amendments to the Indian Act came in 1985 with Bill C-31, Ouellette observes that the reinstatement of Indian status was not always straightforward, and the entrenchment of sexism within Aboriginal communities almost made matters worse. For instance, as described by Mary Two-Axe Early, the federal government returned the status of Aboriginal women, but then gave the power to band councils to decide who was welcome and who was not, frequently turning away those that had voiced
political opposition.\textsuperscript{345}

Ouellette contends that feminist theory, whether Liberal, Marxist or Socialist, might not be appropriate or useful when addressing the oppression of Indigenous women. Here, she highlights the work of several feminist writers but particularly Jennifer S.H. Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk who examine the experiences of Aboriginal women during periods of initial contact with Europeans. Invariably, the views of women are not addressed, nor is there any attempt to extrapolate them from the records kept by fur traders and missionaries.\textsuperscript{346}

As Ouellette plainly states, Aboriginal women have a strategy for affecting social change that is all their own, based on their personal experiences and their grandmothers' teachings, both of which can lead to decolonization and co-existence.\textsuperscript{347} Where Euro-American/Canadian feminists see women's liberation achieved through the creation of a genderless society, Aboriginal women must deal with racism and colonial oppression in addition to sexual oppression.\textsuperscript{348} Ouellette proposes the Fourth World as a unique place from which Aboriginal women can express their beliefs.\textsuperscript{349}

Fourth World theorizing is not meant to maintain the status quo, but instead allows for recognition of cultural values, such as the Four Directions and the Circle of Life. The Four Directions can be seen as representative of attributes including compass points, colours, seasons, peoples, means of sustenance, abilities, gifts and can be shown in diagrammatic form as a circle with concentric rings, known as the Circle of Life or Medicine Wheel.\textsuperscript{350} Ouellette also stresses the importance of motherhood, integral to the Circle of Life philosophy, particularly in the need for reciprocal nurturing relationships between Mother Earth, women, and future generations.\textsuperscript{351} After using a Euro-Canadian
organizational model that gave power only to those in office, NWAC aligned itself with
the Four Directions, involving all regions, distributing responsibilities, and ensuring
representation of all affiliated women's organizations in decision-making.\(^{352}\)

As part of her study, Ouellette interviewed Aboriginal women involved with
women's groups to further understand their concerns. From these interviews, she
identified a variety of issues affecting Aboriginal women, particularly in urban centres.
These included racism, poverty, housing, health and welfare, education, unemployment,
transportation, alcoholism, youth prostitution and suicide.\(^{353}\) Ouellette also found that
Aboriginal women believed that urban settings make matters worse due to cultural
differences, and the absence of Aboriginal values, spirituality, and support systems.
Interestingly, sexual oppression was not seen by informants as the source of their ills.\(^{354}\)
She concludes by calling for self-government on Aboriginal terms, employing the Fourth
World concept\(^{355}\) and the Indigenous Circle of Life philosophy, emphasizing harmony
over dominance, and incorporation of the Four Directions model for both governmental
structure and process.\(^{356}\)

Like Ouellette, Emma LaRocque recognizes that Native women have suffered
from both sexism and racism. Such attitudes can take the form of stereotypes and
violence, but also can be seen in the treatment of Native and non-Native knowledge. For
example, Western scholarship is typically regarded as objective and canonical in
comparison with the presumed subjectivity of Native scholarship.\(^{357}\)

LaRocque presents the idea that Aboriginal women assert feminist concerns
through "post-colonial (sic) voices", or simply "voice". As the author explains, the latter is
a "textual resistance technique",\(^{358}\) which maintains an oral tradition through writing,
engages various genres through an interdisciplinary approach, and archives sensitive material, such as residential school accounts, in an ethical manner. In addressing criticism of Native women writers as being subjective in comparison to Western forms of knowledge, LaRocque offers encouragement to those who continue to “cross borders and seek greater understanding”. She also outlines the importance of traditions, while carefully considering their forms in accordance with contemporary and international human rights. In closing, she states that both history and scholarship must involve dignity, equality and humanity.

Julia Emberley also suggests a literary approach for Aboriginal women to assert feminist concerns. She identifies four theoretical problems facing Aboriginal women writers. First, one has to acknowledge racist and colonial assumptions in discourses presented by “non-Aboriginal feminist theorists, readers, and interpreters of Aboriginal women’s writings”. Second, Aboriginal women’s writing emerges out of resistance due to the experience of colonization, and that contextualization must be considered in cultural studies and feminist cultural studies. The third problem involves formal concerns around writing by Aboriginal women, including the constitution of difference, history as opposed to “story telling (sic)”, and the relation between the tradition of oral storytelling and producing those stories in print. The fourth theoretical problem involves asking what possibilities Aboriginal women’s writing offers in terms of a “feminism of decolonisation (sic)”.

Emberley then goes on to outline three sites of resistance related to Aboriginal women’s writing. First of all, it is important to recognize the writing as just that, to resist categorization as “minority” or “ethnic”, and fiction or non-fiction. Instead, importance is
given to works as being imaginative, presenting a people’s experience not present in mainstream literature. Emberley suggests that Aboriginal women’s writing should not be affiliated with critical practices that harbour colonial assumptions, including feminism. As she sees it, the problem is linked to the exclusion of Aboriginal people from academic privilege, and she notes how Aboriginal women musicians, writers, performers, and artists, including Joane Cardinal-Schubert and the filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin, were largely absent from officially recognized institutions in the 1980s. Lastly, the author discusses how Aboriginal women writers are both characterized by and subjects of their work. In other words, writing as it relates to history very much embodies self-determination. Emberley also considers the greater articulation of a postcolonial feminism, combining mainstream and Indigenous feminist concerns, rather than the two practices occupying autonomous, and often counter-productive, positions. She concludes by noting the ability of oral histories to present truth that is often ignored by the “hegemonic inscriptions of history and literature”, but which often emerges at their contested boundaries and limits. It is worth noting that Emberley’s description of oral histories is similar to Bhabha’s notion of cultures of survival.

Cardinal-Schubert used LaRocque’s concept of “voice” in both the figurative and literal sense to communicate her distress over the daily struggles of Aboriginal women. In an excerpt from a speech delivered at the opening of the exhibition, Diversities, at the Glenbow Museum in 1989, she raises concerns about the survival of Aboriginal people in contemporary society. She recounts the various advancements of Indigenous people in Canada in comparison to ancient cultures in Europe, showing how the latter are revered, while the former are still heavily criticized after more than a century of mistreatment by
the government. Noting that her work is frequently viewed as political, she refutes the association of Native people with the political and with the notion of artifacts, both of which influence the treatment of contemporary Native artists and heritage, by creating her own "contemporary artefacts (sic)".367

Looking back at the racism she experienced growing up, Cardinal-Schubert stated that much remains the same today. She criticized the Diversities exhibition itself for typifying and segregating the work by "Native Artists", while other work in the museum by Canadian artists has not been curated according to race. She also criticized The Spirit Sings exhibition for presenting a non-contemporary view of Indigenous culture. However, she also considered how she has frequently turned negative treatment into a positive force. In quoting her father, she reassured anyone else who has faced similar struggles, "Just take a stand, just fight and never give in, never give in to those bastards."368

Here, it is worth reviewing the exhibitions and art works discussed in Chapter One in light of the means identified by Ouellette, LaRocque, Emberley and Cardinal-Schubert by which Aboriginal women assert their concerns. I will use the literary theories proposed by LaRocque and Emberley to discuss displays and works of art, since many can be read as visual narratives, particularly Cardinal-Schubert’s work with the pictographs.

This Is My History from 1985 presents a distinctly Aboriginal woman’s view as described by Ouellette. Cardinal-Schubert is not so much presenting her past or the events around her in terms of her gender, but through her own experiences and heritage. She considers both Western and non-Western bodies of knowledge, and the imbalance related to the greater history of colonialism in Canada, and how that has affected her as a person. The artist’s historical portraits can be likened to Ouellette’s description of the Fourth
World perspective, a separate view of the world that stems from oppression and segregation, while the images inspired by the pictographs and sweatlodge allow for the recognition of cultural values. Cardinal-Schubert also shares very personal historical narratives through the works, such as her mother’s sweatlodge vision, which, although presented in a visual format, can be likened to LaRocque’s idea of “post-colonial voice” or “voice”. As with Emberley’s claim that oral history presents truth, the title of the show, *This Is My History*, as well as its content, can be related back to the artist. Although the work is mainly visual, it embodies self-determination. Through the depiction of pictographs and Stonehenge, Cardinal-Schubert draws attention to the disparity between the importance attached to ancient European culture and the disdain and ignorance of Canadian Aboriginal culture, in spite of each one’s greater value to humanity.

Race and culture can be seen as the primary themes of the exhibitions, *Stardusters* and *Revisions*. Although *Stardusters* was split equally in terms of the gender of its four artists, and Cardinal-Schubert was the only woman amongst the eight artists in *Revisions*, neither show seemed overly concerned with sexual oppression. Instead, the display of Aboriginal culture provided the thesis for each exhibition, either through its absence and exclusion, or its assertion as a vibrant contemporary expression. Regardless of the artists’ gender, both exhibitions once again exemplify Ouellette’s notion of the Fourth World, as well as Cardinal-Schubert’s drive to situate Aboriginal culture in the present. Emberley’s concerns with exclusion and affiliation with colonial assumptions are equally present in both shows, at the same time that the artists embody self-determination. In light of LaRocque, the exhibitions present history and scholarship with dignity, equality and humanity.
Beyond History rallied against the dominant culture's notion of what Native culture consists of, particularly what are deemed to be traditional, or tribal connections, but it was not explicitly concerned with the imbalance of gender in the dominant society. Of the ten artists, only two were women, and the plight of women and children is still present in the work of artists of either gender. For instance, Bob Boyer’s use of blankets as a painting surface can be likened to quilting, typically associated with craft, and tipi liners, whereby tipi making was seen as the domain of women. Similarly, co-curator Duffek also notes the general concern of the artists for the Lubicon people, which Ron Noganosh addressed with his piece Lubicon, its soundtrack alternating between laughter and tremendous sorrow, reflecting the ongoing struggles of those displaced from their land. Given the circumstances of colonialism in Canada as discussed by Ouellette, matters of gender have a different priority amongst Aboriginal women. It could also be that the curators and artists were picking their battles, addressing the primary goal of establishing cultural sovereignty, as noted by Jensen at the Networking symposium in 1987. Such tactics could allow for the determination of gender roles on Indigenous terms at a later time. In attempting to disrupt the association of Aboriginal people with notions of tradition established by Europeans, the curators of Beyond History sought to address the criticisms raised by Cardinal-Schubert of biased curatorial practices and public perception.

As with This Is My History and Beyond History, INDIGENA looked at the position of Aboriginal people, both men and women, within North American society. The exhibition focused on what followed from Columbus’ voyage and the Confederation of Canada. Hence, it is not surprising that differences in gender did not form the focus of the show, and that of the nineteen artists featured, only four were women. Although the
apparent imbalance in representation by gender may again seem blatant, the issues of race and colonial oppression could be seen as more immediate.

As set out by McMaster and Martin in their curatorial essay, the themes of the exhibition included autonomy for Aboriginal values and philosophies, personal and cultural histories from the last five hundred years, a critique of Euro-North American traditions, and the belief that in spite of the past, the future could be different.\(^\text{374}\)

Aboriginal artists, regardless of gender, could address these themes. As well, the curators drew attention to the critical nature of language, particularly with colonialist terminology such as "discovery" and the "founding' of Canada by the French and the English",\(^\text{375}\) which is demonstrative of acknowledging racist and colonial assumptions, as indicated by Emberley.

The division of gender amongst those who wrote catalogue essays for \textit{INDIGENA} is evenly divided. However, few talk about the experiences of Aboriginal women, and instead focus on the devastating effects of contact with Europeans and post-contact, and efforts to contend with the aftermath. In particular, the introduction of European diseases and claims of superiority on the basis of race were totalizing, and did not discriminate according to gender. Given the diversity of cultures and lifestyles of Aboriginal people in Canada, it may not be worth considering gender as a measure of equality at all, which can likely just be seen as another notion introduced by Europeans, further disrupting societies that may have had no concept of gender equity.\(^\text{376}\)

In terms of selecting artists for \textit{INDIGENA}, the curators do not say why more men were chosen than women. Given the professional training that many of the artists in the exhibition had received, the proliferation of male artists could be traced back to the gender
bias of the institutions they attended. As well, as Nochlin argues, the prejudices of the societies in which the artists were situated would have also played a part in determining who would have prospered, and become prominent enough to be included in the exhibition.

In the *Two Decades* exhibition one can see that Cardinal-Schubert is interested mainly in racism and the history of colonialism in North America. Gender and sexual oppression did not feature prominently in the exhibition, and these same priorities can be seen in the artist's own life. In speaking with Eckehart Schubert, it became clear that Cardinal-Schubert was not interested in reclaiming her Indian status following the amendments provided to the Indian Act by Bill C-31, as she did not agree with how the government had defined Métis simply as someone with mixed blood. While being of mixed-blood heritage herself, the artist believed that the Métis have a distinct culture based on their heritage and location within Canada, and she did not see herself in those terms.377 Likewise, in consideration of gender or sexual oppression, Cardinal-Schubert saw herself as a "womanist", in that she was very pro-female, but did not consider herself a feminist.378 So, although Cardinal-Schubert had particular views on the rights of women, the reality of her situation was determined to a more drastic degree by her race. Once more, *Two Decades* reflects a Fourth World perspective, and the artist's increased use of text in both the works and the catalogue indicate the growing importance of "voice", as well as Emberley's affirmation of a literary approach to addressing concerns.

As discussed in Chapter One, Cardinal-Schubert made a conscious decision early in her artistic career to use her art responsibly to effect change. However, just as she denounced the labelling of Native art as political, it is no surprise that after creating work
for twenty years, she equally resisted the labelling of her own work this way,

I am tired of hearing that my art is political. If people think that emotion and caring about issues are political then I can’t stop dealing with that. It is too much of a reality for Native people. I don’t want to do empty art. The artist is correct on both counts. The passion for her work is apparent in the subjects that she addresses, the conviction by which she pursues those subjects, and by her statement about the day to day lives of Native people. Due to legislation like the Indian Act, the everyday reality of Aboriginal existence is largely determined through the political since birth. In the following section, I will examine how Cardinal-Schubert asserts some of her key concerns.

In the historical portraits series Cardinal-Schubert created likenesses of those who had been marginalized, or whose voices were non-existent in historical accounts. It is apparent in the Great Canadian Dream series that her concerns are not simply those of a woman artist, but as an Indigenous person, fully recognizing that colonialism and racism are the biggest threats to her sovereignty. By intentionally using the Western genre of portraiture and mediums such as oil paints or graphite, Cardinal-Schubert is able to present a Fourth World perspective to a mainstream audience. Great Canadian Dream — Pray for me, Louis Riel and Treaty No. 7 stand out as examples of such works (Figs. 3, 4).

The large triptych and diptych offer respective histories of the Métis people as well as a series of betrayals against Aboriginal people that followed from signing hunting rights away in exchange for reserve lands, food, and treaty money. By using hieratic scale in both works, and assigning the importance of figures based on their relative size, Cardinal-Schubert visually affects a “post-colonial voice”, disrupting the canonical view of Canadian history. For instance, in Pray for me, Louis Riel, the Plains Cree Chief
Poundmaker, seen in the central panel, as well as Michel Dumas and Gabriel Dumont, seen on the right panel, are very large and quite prominent in comparison to General Frederick Middleton. Similarly, in Treaty No. 7, the image of Sir John A. MacDonald is diminutive in scale compared to Crowfoot, who looms above him. In addition to presenting art and history from a contemporary viewpoint that stems from oppression, Cardinal-Schubert also avoids the strict Western categorization of a traditional Native artist.

For the works that employ imagery based on pictographs, Cardinal-Schubert presents a Fourth World view while challenging canonical forms of knowledge. Unlike artists such as Judy Chicago, she is not so much interested in depicting female imagery as Aboriginal imagery. The artist seeks to make a personal connection with a particular history, one that has been obscured by colonialism. As described by Emberley, Cardinal-Schubert’s compositions, which double as visual texts, develop out of resistance, and presenting the pictographs in a fine art context, again, resists labels such as “minority”, “ethnic”, and fiction or non-fiction. Given her Blood ancestry, the works also characterize the artist. She is their subject, embodying self-determination through the relationship of the pictographs to history, including her own personal narrative. Perhaps most important is the opportunity for the pictographs to present a narrative that is not written, emerging at the contested boundaries and limits of history and literature.

Cardinal-Schubert’s warshirts are similar to the pictographs in that they present a Fourth World perspective and narratives that are non-canonical. Although she includes brief passages of text in the works, they function more as clues, rather than authoritative statements. The materials presented in each piece, either literally or figuratively, can be
seen as stemming from oppression and segregation, particularly in how they relate to the collection and storage of sacred Aboriginal regalia. Thus, Cardinal-Schubert asserts Aboriginal concerns over the collection and storage of material culture, as well as events that affected women, as well as men and children.

While one of the works in particular, *Is This Is My Grandmothers*, can be directly related to Ouellette’s description of a Fourth World view as a strategy for social change, the pieces that address living in an urban setting, such as *Urban Warshirt - Metro Techno*, present Cardinal-Schubert’s concerns for Aboriginal culture within that built environment (Figs. 31, 34). A number of the warshirts are characterized as self-portraits, which the artist described as “diarized accounts of my life and struggles.” From 1992, the work *Self-Portrait, Warshirt: The Americas Canopy* presents a space that can be seen as feminine, given the artist’s use of reds and pinks, but it is also undeniably Aboriginal. In light of LaRocque, the artist has taken a multi-disciplinary approach in creating the warshirts, drawing on various mediums, and allowing the works to develop from drawings into three-dimensional objects and installations. By crossing the boundaries of various artistic disciplines and bodies of knowledge, Cardinal-Schubert is able to address a broad audience, even while presenting painful or hateful material, such as the Dunbow residential school and a general loss of culture.

Cardinal-Schubert’s installations present a Fourth World viewpoint, but frequently incorporate a literary component as a “voice”, particularly a storytelling voice. Through her avid use of text written in white chalk as though it were on the surface of a blackboard, the artist sought as direct a relationship with her audience as possible. As she did in *The Lesson* and *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS* (This is the
house that Joe Built), Cardinal-Schubert used the form and setting of her installation, *Kitchen Works: sstorsiinao 'si*, to further establish that relationship (Fig. 35). In reviewing the installation for an article in *Alberta Views*, as part of the ’98-’99 Alberta Biennial of Contemporary Art, Pamela McCallum notes the overwhelming sense of anger and dispossession in the work. She writes that in the decade since the *Diversities* exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert has recognized how the term “Native” has been reclaimed by artists such as herself, allowing them to begin to tell their own stories and those of their families and communities.

For *Kitchen Works*, Cardinal-Schubert set up the space with her signature chalk writing on would-be blackboard surfaces along with a large charcoal on paper mural, overwhelming viewers with information. McCallum writes that in order to read the text, one has to move back and forth across a black-and-white chequered floor, similar to those found in kitchens, including the artist’s own kitchen. Given the view of what could be soldiers, a church, and figures screaming in distress, the work is similar to Rosier’s juxtapositions of domestic spaces and war, as well as Barbara Kruger’s installations comprised entirely of bold text, colours and images. However, instead of a kitchen counter, Cardinal-Schubert has situated a large display cabinet in the space, much like those found in museums, another topic of contention for the artist. Within the case, there are six tiny papooses, or Aboriginal children, and fragments of text from both newspapers and the Bible. As with the chairs in *The Lesson*, the legs of the display case have been tethered with rope, a form of hobbling in one sense, and in another, as McCallum notes, forcibly linking disparate histories. Presenting a further visceral response to the images and text is a teacup, mounted on top of the display case and filled with what appears to be
blood. The liquid can also be seen tracked across the floor in bright red footprints. The idea of blood evokes uneasy notions of suffering in both Christian iconography and Aboriginal histories in Canada, while the teacup, representative of British culture, attempts to contain them. Meanwhile, the footprints on the floor lead out of the space, ignoring the boundaries of the black and white squares.

In her writing, Cardinal-Schubert once again presents a Fourth World perspective, using a creative and imaginative “voice”. For example, the *Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr* series is both playful and cutting in terms of exploring the parallels between Carr’s life and her own experiences as an artist. From *Birch Bark Letters to Emily Carr: Astrolabe Discovery*, Cardinal-Schubert describes her understanding of why Carr was not included in the Group of Seven, although she also painted landscapes (Fig. 36). As explained within the poem, it was not her gender that held Carr back, but the immediacy with which she painted her subject, “Your work is screaming, ‘I am in the landscape.’”386 The poem also notes that, aside from Tom Thomson possibly, the rest of the group “paint landscape like they were looking through a window.”387

In her essay for the catalogue accompanying Margo Kane’s Banff performance, Cardinal-Schubert eschews colonial assumptions, post-modernism, postcolonialism, and feminism. As with *In the Red*, she does not delve into critical practices, but directly examines appropriation and the profit motive as subjects that are problematic. In “Flying With Louis”, a keynote address given in 2003 at *Making A Noise: Making A Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Contemporary Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community*, Cardinal-Schubert takes the audience on the last international flight of the Aboriginal Concorde, piloted by Louis Riel. Through the speech, she reviews the cultural
accomplishments of Aboriginal people in the short time since contact with Europeans, particularly the Aboriginal Art Secretariat with the Canada Council for the Arts, Aboriginal curatorship, and dedicated Aboriginal arts funding. In referencing the words so often attributed to Riel, that his people will sleep for 100 years and that upon awaking, it will be the artists who give them back their spirits, Cardinal-Schubert explains that it is the Concorde’s last flight, as it represents the last chance; the last chance to reclaim culture as opposed to living “in a continuing reactionary soap opera with scripts written for us by others.” This last chapter of the thesis provides instances where Aboriginal women artists speak from their own perspective, and on their own terms. The work of Cardinal-Schubert serves as an excellent backdrop for a further examination of some of these aspects of Aboriginal feminism.
Conclusion

In considering the life and work of Joane Cardinal-Schubert, the goal of this thesis has been to address a gap in art historical research on an artist that I believe to be of major importance. Behind that effort, the question resounded as to why a cohesive body of research had not been previously created. Scholars such as Young, Spivak, Crosby, Ouellette and Cardinal-Schubert herself provided an answer hinted at early on by Rena Point Bolton; Aboriginal women have been discriminated against twice, on the basis of race and gender. Until the mid-twentieth century, when a resurgence of Aboriginal culture brought mainstream attention to non-Western art forms, work by Aboriginal artists was largely seen as artifact, and the purview of anthropology, or craft, and not worthy of any serious attention from art dealers and collectors, including large public institutions. Aboriginal artists were also constrained by non-Native designations of what was considered traditional, and therefore authentic. Hence, Aboriginal art that was made using contemporary materials or forms was dismissed, as was work by Aboriginal women artists labouring under imposed colonial gender roles.

Cardinal-Schubert was a dynamic and determined artist, advocate, mentor, mother and wife. She reached adulthood during a period of increasing awareness of the dire circumstances of Aboriginal people in Canada, and joined the vanguard of those struggling to have Indigenous arts and culture recognized internationally. The artist achieved a high level of public recognition, through solo and group exhibitions that travelled extensively, through works collected in numerous private and public collections, as well as through an array of honours and awards bestowed upon her. However, considering her goals and interests, seeking recognition, particularly for its own sake, was
not one of them, and if asked why she was so driven, one could imagine that she would simply respond that it was her responsibility; looking and seeing according to how her parents taught her, and how her grandparents had taught them.

Although her career as an artist really only began when she was in her late thirties, when she was married with two young children, Cardinal-Schubert was keenly aware of her role as a creative artist who would convey the intellectual and human value of Aboriginal culture in Canada, which had been denied for centuries through colonial oppression. She was active in a particularly memorable period of Canada’s history, witnessing amendments to the Indian Act that would promise greater equality for Aboriginal women, and events that would deeply inform Aboriginal relations with the nation-state of Canada, such as the Oka crisis and the Columbus quincentenary. In spite of the obstacles facing women artists in general during the late twentieth century, Cardinal-Schubert succeeded in reclaiming her heritage, culture and a place for herself in society. She valued the formal education she received, recognizing the opportunities it could lead to. Working through organizations such as SCANA and CAAAS, and as an independent curator and scholar, she helped organize people and projects that would find their fruition in numerous exhibitions and conferences, and build on her legacy as a role model, mentoring those that came after her and inspiring them to do the same.

While this thesis has attempted to address as many aspects of Cardinal-Schubert’s career as possible, it may have neglected to discuss aspects of her life cherished by her friends and family. Although she may be seen as a resolute agent for change in the lives of Aboriginal people, whether or not they were involved in the arts, she defied the characterization of her work as political. While racism could be seen as an immense
motivating factor in her life, legislation such as the Indian Act ties any efforts to combat racism to politics by necessity. However, for Cardinal-Schubert, the subject matter of much of her work was also marked to a large degree by compassion, as seen in works that addressed the Lubicon Cree community and residential school survivors. As well, the spiritual dimension of Cardinal-Schubert’s life and work could easily be the subject for another thesis, given her exposure to different forms of religion, the experiences of each of her great-grandmothers as spiritual figures, her initial education in convent school, and the use of Aboriginal spiritual motifs in her art, such as various animal forms, the warshirt and the sweatlodge.

Complementing her vehement approach to addressing injustice in the art world and beyond, was Cardinal-Schubert’s sense of humour, which was equal to her passion. The artist noted that the ever present humour and irony in her work was simply part of her character, “If I say something, just a statement about anything, I always put a twist on the end of it, I notice.” Similarly, although viewers may be drawn to her works by their lush sense of colour, the varying use of texture, or intriguing composition, they can expect their minds to be equally engaged by the messages they contain. In a brief moment during the filming of Loretta Todd’s film, Hands of History, the artist herself coyly summed up her approach to making art by saying, “I like to play a lot.” While her sense of play may seem wicked at times, humour and irony also tend to indicate a genuine warmth, and should not be seen as diminishing the anguished and powerful subjects that comprise her work, but rather as an opportunity to communicate more directly with her audience.

Honouring the life and work of Cardinal-Schubert has been only part of this project. With it came a greater recognition of the difficulties facing Aboriginal women in
Canada. Reviewing the various means by which ideas could be presented in support of, rather than on behalf of Native women has been just as important, and no less challenging, given the legacy of the country's founding, and the imperative nature of the task. Young's writing proves very helpful in terms of comprehending the nature and scope of imperialism and colonialism, and what that has meant to women internationally. Likewise, Spivak offers an invaluable means for understanding the situation of Aboriginal women in Canada through the subaltern, as well as un-learning one's privilege as loss. These ideas prepare the way for writers such as Gartner, Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert to be heard in the broadest sense possible. Similarly, Bhabha's notion of culture as a strategy for survival helps one gain further perspective on the circumstances of Aboriginal women, and to become more receptive to their marginalized voices, whether they are seen as artists, or not. Although space prevents further elaboration and incorporation of their ideas into this thesis, Chandler and Lalonde provide vital insights into the literal application of culture as a means of survival, as it has been shown to lower suicide rates in Aboriginal communities.\textsuperscript{391}

Like Nochlin's probing into the nature of cultural production in the early 1970s, one has to consider that, while a problem has been acknowledged, the opportunity to seek some form of resolution has to be taken up on an ongoing basis. With each new generation comes new challenges, and problems that developed over generations will not necessarily disappear any sooner. A Fourth World view, as proposed by Ouellette, presents a viable means for Aboriginal women to assert their concerns about racial and gender oppression. LaRocque and Emberley both stress the benefits of a literary approach for Aboriginal women to express a voice that is uniquely theirs, while Cardinal-Schubert identifies
racism, the profit-motive and colonial oppression as major threats to Aboriginal women artists. As a marker for progress, an article published by NWAC in 1992 and reprinted in 2009 cautions that there will be no Aboriginal self-government without the participation of Aboriginal women.\textsuperscript{392} Equally dismaying, following presentations by NWAC and the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) in March 2012, to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights in Washington, DC on the disappearance of Aboriginal women in British Columbia, and the systemic failures that have contributed to racially and sexually motivated violent crimes against Aboriginal women,\textsuperscript{393} funding cuts to NWAC’s Health Department by Health Canada were announced in late April.\textsuperscript{394}

The current state of Aboriginal women artists is the topic for another research project altogether. However, it is important to acknowledge the hard work and precedents set by Cardinal-Schubert and her peers that provide a platform from which a new generation of Aboriginal women scholars and artists can speak. Take, for instance, the quiet nature of Harnett’s 2007 photographic exhibition \textit{Persona Grata}, in which the artist documents herself as though contemplating a mirror in various guises, except it is the viewer that stands before the artist’s would-be reflection when taking in the large format prints. Likewise, although Poitras Pratt has since completed her doctoral thesis, her 2002 master’s thesis, \textit{Our Voices Must Be Seen To Be Heard: Contemporary Native Art in Canadian Society}, considers the vital role of Aboriginal culture in determining Canada’s national identity. These are but two examples of Aboriginal women who are making gains within their given field, and they are not alone.
Appendix A

Crowfoot (Blackfoot/Kainai)

Bobtail Chief (brother of Crowfoot)

William Samuel Lee - from Northern England

Rose Bobtail (Blackfoot/Piegans)

Hillaire Cardinal - French-Canadian (possibly Métis)

Martha Caroline Lee

Alvin Rach - German Homesteader in Maddin, Alberta

Evelyn Morin - Eastern Canadian via Texas (possibly Métis)

Joseph Treffle Cardinal - Game Warden

Francis Marguerite Rach - Nurse

Joane Marguerite Cardinal (Blackfoot/Kainai)

Great-Grandfather

Marguerite Rach - German, southern Alberta

Alvin Rach - German Homesteader in Maddin, Alberta

Evelyn Morin - Eastern Canadian via Texas (possibly Métis)
Appendix B

oh Canada

Not so many months ago
I applied

To the Canada Council
Arts B Grant

To study
Canadian Painter
Emily Carr.

Wanted to use her as my mentor
Post Humously.

Seemed like a good idea....
The RCA used her Posthumously....
Even awarded her An Accolade.

Good painting they said the jury said

Loved your Warshirts.
(they shortlisted me)

But ...
they said
the jury said

We were worried
If you went to B.C.
You might end up painting the totems Red

What of it
I thought
It is art historica.

now I know better
Next time
I will apply to go to visit
the pyramids....

oh Canada

Source: Native Literatures in Canada: A Collection of Writings by Indian, Inuit and Métis Authors
Near the Ledge, Writing on Stone

My Father
Never
Took me
There.
But here
I am
At
This Holy Place.
A Power is here
Strong
Enough
To raise
The Hair
on my neck
And send
shivers
Down
my spine.

We follow
the warden
sheep-like
and
Listen
to bed-time
stories
from the lips
of this

Interloper

The magic
Holds
for me
in the hot
Summer afternoon
And later when we
Approach
The Ledge
where
folk-lore
promises
A wrapped Skeleton
will be found
I stoop
and
loosen from the earth
A Bone Bead
That
Everyone
has
walked
On.

Source: Native Literatures in
Canada: A Collection of Writings by
Indian, Inuit and Métis Authors
There is no Hercules
(Homage to Robert
Smallboy)

You
with your face of wisdom
your
comforting hands
your older age should
Demand
Respect

Yet
no one let you in
In Banff.

It was a cold night
you froze both legs
then,
they took you in
to the hospital
they took everything
away from you
including your legs.

They gave you
New things.

You could not burn
Sweetgrass
or have
Your food.

You went home
to die.
Finally.
Painfully.
Two years later.

Wasn’t it you
Who had
special
audience
with the Pope.

Didn’t you save
Your people
by example
on the Plains.

Didn’t you receive
the Order of Canada.

Too bad
There is no Hercules

In Banff
For an Old Indian
Out of Ceremonial Dress

(1987)

Source: Passage To Origins I: Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, FAB Gallery,
University of Alberta

Keeper
Keeper of the Vision
Spirit of the Four Directions
Your Heads

Thrusting

Screaming Out

Keeper! Keeper!
Scream for
All Creatures
on the Earth.

Your Warshirts
Marked with the White-Hot
Brands
of Words
of the
Lost Generation.

You bring forth
Your Animal Spirits
resting on their
barren stumps –

Grave markers.

Let the next
Generation
be born
with the knowledge
of what has passed.

Source: Revisions
From: Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt (1991)
61.5 x 91 cm
Mixed media on chiro bark paper
Collection: Glenbow Museum
Source: Glenbow Museum

From: Beginning of Life (1991)
102 x 127 cm
Acrylic and conte collagraph on rag paper
Source: The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art

Letter to Emily:

Feb 23, 1991
Dear Emily,

I was really knocked out the other day when I was in Ottawa perusing the Group of Seven even though I studied them in school and know their names - you have to know them to pass the course- I just had never realized that they were all men. Poor Emily I guess you didn't even think that there might be a bias. I think you were just too busy working and doing what you wanted to realize that that was one thing not in your favour. Of course I really don't know what you were thinking but some people do they have spent years of their lives reconstructing your life and painting too bad they just don't ask people while they are still alive but I guess they would lose control.

Regards
Joane Cardinal Schubert

PS I want to apologize for all those people who used to cross the street when they saw you coming. I think you should know they all talk about what a great friend you were to them.

Beginning of Life

03-91
Dear Emily,

It's been a while since I've written you. Everyone is madly getting ready for the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Columbus of the Americas. This is outrageously funny as the Aboriginal peoples of the Americas were not lost. The increasingly common habit of the media to flood the papers magazines and the tube with new information about the habits of these 'owners' of the New (Old World) World has unearthed some frightening historical truths. Hard to live with such a legacy. I guess you can understand what I mean.

Best

JC-S
Notes

1 While the term Aboriginal may be used to indicate a person of First Nations, Inuit or Métis descent within Canada, I will use it interchangeably with the term Indigenous to refer to those descended from a region's primary inhabitants.

2 For my purposes, heritage can be seen as one’s ancestry, and that which is determined by birth.

3 Culture can be seen as including knowledge, belief systems and activities, of which art is a part.


6 Postcolonialism implies the state in which an individual can study colonialism, it is not meant to indicate that colonialism has ended.


8 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.


17 Allan J. Ryan, The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 143.


24 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

25 When legislation was first initiated in 1850 as a protective measure for Native territory, Aboriginal people were not eligible to participate in government. J.R. Miller. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 138.

26 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

27 From a western perspective, tradition implies the past, different from present or contemporary practice, which can become a measure of authenticity. Janet Catherine Berlo, and Ruth B. Phillips, Native North American Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32.


30 Eckehart Schubert, e-mail message to author, 24 July 2012.

31 Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 1.


33 Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 1.

34 Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.

35 Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

36 While pictographs are painted, and petroglyphs are incised, the artist titled her work as the former, although the techniques can also be combined. Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.

37 Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.


39 Gerald Vizenor's notion of "narrative chance" can be similarly attributed to his mixed-blood lineage, accommodating contradictions within a communal setting. *Native American Novelists: Gerald Vizenor* (Eureka. CA: Films Media Group, 1994), VHS.

40 Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 3.


42 Ibid., 227.

43 *2nd Annual New Sun Symposium*, organized by Allan J. Ryan (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2003), VHS.

44 Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 4.

45 Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

46 *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.


49 Ibid.

50 Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system,
Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper, 11 June 2008, accessed 16 March 2012,

In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs made residential
school attendance compulsory, and it wasn’t until 1944 that Senior Indian Affairs officials considered a shift
in policy from residential to day schools. Integration of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education only began
to occur in the 1940s and 1950s. While Indian Affairs Regional Inspectors recommended the abolition of
residential schools in 1958, the closure of all government-run schools did not occur until 1996. “A
Condensed Timeline of Events,” in From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential
Schools, eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, et al. (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 64.

Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
(Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 44.

Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my
History, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for
Indian Art, 1985), 42.

Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994). VHS.

Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades

Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my
History, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for
Indian Art, 1985), 42.

Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
(Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 30.

Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my
History, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for
Indian Art, 1985), 42.

Ibid., 42.

Ibid., 42.

eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 362.

Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan, About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and
Inuit Artists, eds. Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American
Indian), 27.

eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 363.

“CBC Digital Archives – Expedition – Expedition: Expo 67’s Indians of Canada,” Canadian
Broadcasting Corporation, accessed 30 April 2012,

eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 366.

Activism,” in The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills:
Oxford University Press, 2010), 372.

Ibid., 376.

Ibid., 376-77.


Aboriginal political leaders were concerned for their rights provided under the Royal Proclamation of
Activism,” in The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills:
Oxford University Press, 2010), 380.

Ibid., 381.

Ibid., 381.
75 Ibid., 383.
76 Ibid., 380.
77 Ibid., 389.
78 Carol Podedwomy, Foreword to Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 2.
81 Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 8.
84 Ibid., 7.
85 Ibid., 7.
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90 Ibid., 21.
91 Ibid., 22.
93 Ibid., 23.
95 Ibid., 1.
96 Ibid., 1.
97 Ibid., 2.
98 Ibid., 6.
102 Ibid., 27.
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105 Ibid., 139.
106 Ibid., 143.
109 Ibid., 8.
113 Ibid., 5.
114 Ibid., 13.
120 Tanya Harnett, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 January 2012, interview 1, transcript.
122 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
124 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
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130 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
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132 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
133 Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History, ed. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 11.
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135 Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montreal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
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Ibid., 5.

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Joane Cardinal-Schubert, “About the Warshirt Series,” Background info for painting presented to the National Gallery of Canada on behalf of Albertans to the People of Canada (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d).


Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.


Ibid., 4.

Ibid., 4.

Ibid., 5.


Eckehart Schubert, e-mail message to author, 25 July 2012.

Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.


Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.


MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4-5.


240 Ibid., 62.


242 Ibid., 15.

243 Ibid., 15.

244 Ibid., 16.

245 Ibid., 17.


247 Ibid., 267.

248 Ibid., 269.

249 Ibid., 269.


254 Ibid., 123.

255 Ibid., 123.

256 Ibid., 123.

257 Ibid., 126.

258 Ibid., 126.

259 Ibid., 128.

260 Ibid., 128.

261 Ibid., 128.

262 Ibid., 129.

263 Ibid., 129.

264 Ibid., 131.


267 Cardinal-Schubert recognized that Native artists had reclaimed their title as a distinct people, and that “Native” was no longer a derogatory qualifier of race. Pamela McCallum “Linked Histories: Recent Art By Three First Nations Women,” *Alberta Views* (Fall 1999) : 20.


269 Ibid., 6.


271 Ibid., 26.


273 Ibid., 54-55.


277 Ibid., 19.

278 Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (Routledge: London, 2004), 246.

279 Ibid., 246-247.

280 Neil L. Jennings, In Plain Sight: Exploring the Natural Wonders of Southern Alberta (Surrey: Rocky Mountain Books, 2010), 89.

281 Ibid., 89.

282 Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

283 As noted by Melnyk, associating the origins of Alberta's literary traditions with those pre-dating the English language merely brings recognition to the cultural diversity of the region. George Melnyk, The Literary History of Alberta: From Writing-on-Stone to World War Two (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998), 8.

284 Joane Cardinal-Schubert, “About the Warshirt Series,” Background info for painting presented to the National Gallery of Canada on behalf of Albertans to the People of Canada (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d).


292 The handprint motif indicates protection, as seen with Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits Are Forever Within, a grouping of plaster medicine bundles. Allan J. Ryan, The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 134.


298 Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.


300 Ibid., xv.

10th Anniversary New Sun Conference On Aboriginal Arts: Shining Through, organized by Allan J. Ryan, 2011, (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2011), DVD.

Tanya Harnett, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 January 2012, interview 1, transcript.

Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.


Women in Québec were not allowed to vote until 1940, and Native women were not allowed to vote until 1960.

Maria Tippett, By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art By Canadian Women (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992), 154.


M’Closkey also notes that the weave shop has received government subsidies, in spite of running high deficits, which further clouds its nature as a place for creative activity. Ibid., 123.

The mother as subject is ignored by Western Marxist feminism, due to the trivialization of value in work and mothering as work. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics (New York: Routledge, 1988), 258.

Revolutionary feminism considers issues of class, while mainstream reformist feminism dismissed the class struggle given the equality achieved with male peers in terms of “class power”. bell hooks. Where We Stand: Class Matters (New York: Routledge, 2000), 101.

Euro-American feminism can be equated with westernization, by which Third World women are ignored, and oppressive traditions remain unchallenged. Trinh T. Minh-ha, Women, Native, Other (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 106.

Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.


Ibid., 29.

Ibid., 29.

Ibid., 31.

Ibid., 43.


Ibid., 38.

Ibid., 42.

As described by Ouellette, a Fourth World view is a separate view of the world that stems from oppression and segregation, particularly legislation such as the Indian Act. Ibid., 91.

Ibid., 47-48.

Ibid., 90.

Ibid., 55-56.

Ibid., 86.

Ibid., 86.

Ibid., 86.

Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Comtassel also suggest the viability of the Fourth World model, seeing it as a starting point to a process of regeneration. Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Comtassel, “Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism,” Government and Opposition, 40 (2005): 611. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x


Ibid., 13.

Ibid., 13.

Ibid., 12.

Ibid., 15.

103

Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 98.

Ibid., 98.

Ibid., 100.

Ibid., 105.


Ibid., 51.


Ibid., 16.

As a two-spirit woman, Alex Wilson avoids the division of the world by gender, and instead uses Cree distinctions of animate and inanimate. Alex Wilson, “N’tacimowin Innan Nah: Our Coming In Stories,” First Voices: An Aboriginal Women’s Reader, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009), 82.

Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

Ibid.


Bonita Lawrence notes how individual Native identity is negotiated with collective identity as well as external colonial forces, which have damaged traditional ways to self-identify with a collective and the land. Bonita Lawrence, “Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview.” Hypatia, Volume 18 Number 2 (Spring 2003) : 4.


Ibid., 20.

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David Alexander and John O’Brian, Gasoline, Oil and Paper: The 1930s Oil-On-Paper Paintings of Emily Carr (Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1995), 34.

Ibid., 34.


Allan J. Ryan, The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 144.

Hands of History, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

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Figure 1  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
The Lesson (1993)  
365.76 x 365.76 cm  
Mixed media installation  
Collection: Estate of the Artist  
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 2  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Letters to Emily: Borrowed Power (1992)
91.44 x 243.84 cm
Collage on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 3  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Great Canadian Dream - Pray for me, Louis Riel (1978)
91.44 x 170.18 cm; 170.18 x 152.4 cm; 107.95 x 182.88 cm
Oil on canvas, triptych
Collection: Carleton University Art Gallery
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 4  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Great Canadian Dream – Treaty No. 7 (1978)  
180 x 520 cm  
Oil on canvas  
Collection: Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, Calgary  
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert; This Is My History  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 5  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Ancient Voices Beneath the Ground – Stonehenge (1983)
121.92 x 81.28 cm
Oil/graphite on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 6
Joane Cardinal-Schubert
John Ware (1977)
101.6 x 68.58 cm
Graphite/pencil on rag paper
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. D. Thiesen, Ottawa
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 7  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Homage to Smallboy (1984)
121.92 x 121.92 cm
Oil and acrylic on canvas
Collection: I. Bohez, Calgary
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 8  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Where were you in July Hercules? (1984)
182.88 x 243.84 cm
Oil and acrylic on canvas
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. I. Aitken, Calgary
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 9  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Ancient Constellation: Buffalo Nebula (1983)
91.44 x 121.92 cm
Oil and on canvas
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Turnquist, Midnapore
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 10  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Warshirt: A Declaration (1986)
81.28 x 116.84 cm
Oil, oil pastel, conte and graphite on rag paper
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: John Dean
Figure 11   Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Song of My Ancestors – Medicine Rib Stones (1986)
46 x 43 x 12.7 cm, 102 x 69 x 11.5 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
Source: *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
Figure 12  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits are Forever Within (1986)
68.6 x 38 x 24 cm, 104 x 45.7 x 17.8 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
Figure 13  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Self-Portrait: Warshirt Shield (1986)  
71 x 67.3 x 15.2 cm  
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, urethane  
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
Figure 14  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Rider (1986)
152 x 213 cm
Oil and graphite on canvas
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: John Dean
Figure 15  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Four Directions – Warshirts: This is the Spirit of the West, This is the Spirit of the East, This is the Spirit of the North, This is the Spirit of the South (1986)
114.3 x 152.4 cm
Oil, oil pastel, chalk and graphite on rag paper
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
Figure 16  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
The Earth Belongs to Everyone II (1986)
472.44 x 182.88 cm; poles approx. 214 cm
Oil on canvas, pine, plaster, stones
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
Figure 17  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Keepers of the Vision (1987)  
4 panels, 142 x 102.5 cm each  
Paper, oil, conte and graphite on rag board  
Source: Revisions  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre
Figure 18  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Burial Platform: Contemporary Artifact VI (Keine Erste Hilfe) (1987)  
122 x 137 x 61 cm  
Mixed media  
Source: Revisions  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre
Figure 19  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remnant, Birthright – Museum II, Remember Dunbow, Is This My Grandmothers’, Remnant, Then There Were None (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Source: Beyond History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Figure 20  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Preservation of A Species: Shroud - Spill (1988)  
279 x 381 cm  
Etching ink, varethane on rag paper, linen  
Collection: National Gallery of Canada  
Source: Beyond History  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Figure 21  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze (1989)
548.64 x 914.4 cm
Mixed media installation
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Figure 22  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built) (1990)
Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece: 60.96 x 243.84 cm
Installation, mixed media
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built) (1990)
Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece: 60.96 x 243.84 cm
Installation, mixed media
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Figure 24  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
121.92 x 81.28 cm
Oil on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 25  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Approximately 360 x 240 x 240 cm
Steel mesh, plywood, plaster body, acrylic, rebar, brass, linen
Collection: Calgary International Airport
Photo: Alisdair MacRae
Figure 26  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt (1991)  
61.5 x 91 cm  
Mixed media on chiro bark paper  
Collection: Glenbow Museum, 2000.002.004  
Source: Glenbow Museum  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum
Figure 27  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: House of All Sorts (1991)  
101.6 x 127 cm  
Acrylic and collage on paper  
Collection: Kamloops Art Gallery, 1995-148  
Source: Overstepped Boundaries: Powerful Statements by Aboriginal Artists in the Permanent Collection  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Kamloops Art Gallery
Figure 28  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Beginning of Life (1991)
102 x 127 cm
Acrylic and conte collagraph on rag paper
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Figure 29  Kay WalkingStick  
Finding the Centre (1993)  
609.6 x 304.8 cm  
Billboard  
Collection: Mendel Art Gallery  
Source: The Post-Colonial Landscape: A Billboard Exhibition  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Mendel Art Gallery
Figure 30  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Ancient Battle (1980)  
72.39 \times 49.53 \text{ cm}  
Oil on rag paper  
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Aldridge, Calgary  
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 31

Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Is This My Grandmothers' (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Figure 32
Joane Cardinal-Schubert
126.37 cm (Height of framed image)
Acrylic on paper with rosary; tambourine with parchment and acrylic; leather lacrosse mask with acrylic
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: About Face: Self-Portraits by Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
Figure 33  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remembering My Dreambed (1985)
149.86 x 114.3 cm
Acrylic on canvas
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
Figure 34  Joane Cardinal-Schubert
83.82 x 78.74 cm
Mixed media on paper
Source: Masters Gallery
Photo: Image courtesy of Masters Gallery
Figure 35  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Dimensions not available  
Mixed media installation  
Collection: Estate of the Artist  
Source: Glenbow Museum  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum
Figure 36  Joane Cardinal-Schubert  
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: Astrolabe Discovery (1991)  
59.7 x 80.2 cm  
Mixed media on Arches paper  
Collection: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1992.026.001  
Source: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria  
Photo: Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria